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[Part I

**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona**

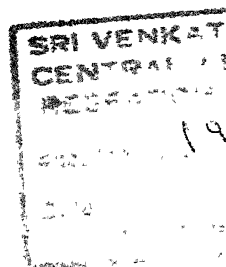
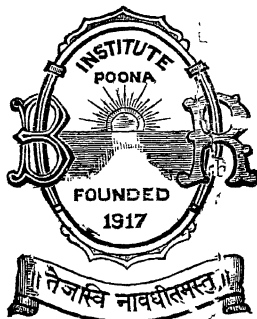
**Volume XIII
1931-32**

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Printed by Anant Vinayak Patwardhan, B.A., at the Aryabhushan
Press, Bhamburda Peth, House No. 936/2, and Published by
S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary, at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
POONA

1931

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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

Vol XIII]

October 1931

[Part I

KR̥ṢṢṢA KUTŪHALA NĀṬAKA

BY

PRALHAD C. DIWANJI, M. A., LL. M.



SOURCE

This is one of the works mentioned along with Advaitasiddhi, Advaitaratnaraksanam, Vedāntakalpapatikā, Siddhāntabindu &c. under the head *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* in Vol. I of the Catalogus Catalogorum of Theodor Aufrecht at page 427 thereof. As it had not been published till I wrote my article on *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī; His Life and Works* which was published in Vol. VIII Part II of these "Annals" at pp. 149-57, I had not been able to see a copy thereof and had not therefore expressed therein any definite opinion as to whether the author of this work and the other works above-mentioned were identical or different. Recently I happened to know of the existence of a Ms copy thereof at the Sanskrit Library, Baroda and having taken it as a loan went through it with a view to decide that question, if possible, from internal evidence. I am glad to say that my effort has not been fruitless.

DATE AND APPEARANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

That Ms. seems to have been prepared by one Baladeva on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Āśvin in the year Samvat 1846 corresponding with Śake 1711 (A. D. 1790) and consists of 78 folio pages containing 2,000 lines. The size of each page is 9" × 4½" and all except the first and the last are written on both sides. The Ms. is complete except for the facts that p. 30 has been left partly blank, pp. 30 are missing altogether and some of the pages after 60

destroyed by worms with the result that a few words at pp. १^१ and १^१ are missing. The context however gives a sufficient clue as to the substance of those parts of the text and therefore this Ms. does not fail to give an idea of the contents of the whole work. I give below the one which I have been able to form from it, after making some general remarks.

NATURE OF THE WORK

The Śāstri who may have prepared its label seems to have noted on it that the work is a dramatic representation of the slaying of Kamsa by Śrī Kṛṣṇa but on a closer perusal I have found that such is not the case but that it aims in the first six acts at depicting the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana and in the seventh artfully gives a foretaste of what he was destined to do after he quitted that life and entered a new phase the scene of which was at Mathurā.

ITS AUTHORSHIP

With regard to the authorship of the work the colophon reads :—

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतिविरचितं कृष्णकुतूहलं नाम
नाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

From this and from the facts that the celebrated author of the Advaitasiddhi, Siddhāntabindu, Vedāntakalpalatikā and other works was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and used to live at Benares for the greater part of his later life one is tempted to conclude that this must be the work of the same author. But on a close examination of this work itself it appears that there are certain data therein which militate against such a conclusion. Thus the Sūtradhāra says in the introductory passage :—

(सभ्यान्समुद्दिश्य) भो भोः किं ब्रूत ! कोऽसावुनद्रूपयजन्मा निर्वर्णित
प्रबन्धनिर्माता यत्कोशिलविलोकनाय भगवतोऽप्येतावान्निर्बन्धः ? समाकर्णयन्तु ।

षट्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तन्त्रलः कविगुर्योऽरुन्धतगर्भजः

शाण्डिल्यान्वयमण्डनो द्विजमणेर्नारायणस्याङ्गजः ।

शिष्यः कृष्णसरस्वतीयतिपतेराशैशवं वण्णवः

सन्यासी मधुसूदनः सुरगुरोर्द्वैतं स किं न ब्रूतः ॥ (p. २)

It is quite clear from this that the author of this work was a son of Arundhati and Nārāyaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya Gotra, that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu from his childhood and that he was a disciple of Sarasvatī. Further as to how the idea of composition occurred to him he says :—

वाराणसीवरवर्णिनीकण्ठाभरणीकृतसुरतरङ्गिणीमुकालतेन्द्रनीलाङ्कुरतरलेन जगदा-
नन्दकन्देन भगवता बिन्दुमाधवेन स्वप्नान्तराले समनुगृहीतोऽस्मि यद्वाद्भिः रुष्णकुतूहलं
नाम प्रबन्धनमभिनयद्भिः स्वीयभुवनरञ्जनाभिधानोचितमाचरणयिमिति ॥ (p. ½)

This shows that he was specially devoted to Viṣṇu in the particular form of Bindumādhava, a name which reminds one of the shrine of that name at Benares. Then speaking about his said Guru in the first act he says that he had composed several dramas namely, Gopracāraṇa, Kāmakutūhala, Dānavinodana, Taranīvihāra and others. (p. ½). In the same act he further says that his Paramaguru, Mukunda, was a great devotee of Viṣṇu and that he had been passing his time in devotion at Vṛndāvana. (p. ½). These autobiographical details ill-accord with the facts we know about the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī which are that he was one of the four sons of Purandarācārya Miśra, a Kanoja Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa Gotra residing at the village Kotālīpādā in the Faridpur District of Eastern Bengal, that his mother's name was unknown, that he never mentioned his parents' names, or his place of nativity in any of his works in strict obedience to the rules of conduct applicable to the order of Samnyāsis that none of them should maintain any connection with one's relations and place of birth after initiation in that order, that he could not have been a Vaiṣṇava from childhood because his father is known to have been a devotee of Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrti Kālīkā, that he was a disciple of Viśveśvara Sarasvatī since initiation and of Śrī Rāma and Mādhava probably before that and that the name of his Paramguru is not known from any of the sources from which other information about him can be gathered.¹ It would therefore be right to conclude that this is not a work of the celebrated Madhusūdana but of some other Samnyāsi of the same name residing in Benares. That he is not also one of those other authors of the same name who are found mentioned in the Catalogus Catalogorum Vol. I at p. 427 is also clear from the fact that the above biographical details do not tally with those of the others which are given in that work and that is very natural since this work was by mistake put down in the said Catalogue under the name of the famous author of the same name.

¹ Vide the article on *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī; His life and Works* in the A. B. O. R. I. Vol VIII Part II pp. 149-57, 152, and Vol. IX P. IV Miscellanea, pp. 309-10.

DATE OF THE AUTHOR

As to when this author could have lived and composed this drama, I regret I cannot express any conclusive opinion because the work gives no clue to that fact except that he had composed this drama with a view to get it enacted before the idol of Bindu-mādhava at Benares. I am not aware and have not yet been able to gather when that temple was erected. If that can be traced the earliest date that can be assigned to him can be fixed. The latest date is of course the date of the Ms. itself namely, A. D. 1790.

MERITS OF THE WORK

Although this is not a work of the famous Madhusūdana it has its own merits and deserves the attention of Sanskritists in my opinion. I therefore propose to give a short summary of the plot thereof with a few extracts in order to give the readers an idea as to its contents.

THE PLOT-ACT 1

The play begins in the orthodox fashion with a Nāṇḍī. Then enter the Sutrādhārā and Nāṭī who in the course of an introductory conversation give ideas as to the genesis of the work, the name, percentage and qualifications &c. of the author. This over, there enters Sadantaka, an employee of Kamsa, singing the praises of his master. While entering he hears the names of Kṛṣṇa and Kamsa from the lips of the Nāṭī in the course of a reference to the possible slaying of the latter by the former and therefore feels annoyed and gives vent to his wrath in hot words. While he is doing so there enters Nala-Kūbara muttering the praises of Kṛṣṇa. He asks him whether he owes allegiance to any other master than Kamsa and thereupon the latter tells him that he takes pride in obeying Kṛṣṇa and after further questioning describes the exploits of that hero in the forests on the other side of the Yamunā. Sadantaka is thereupon filled with a curiosity to know and see Kṛṣṇa. Immediately after that enters Kṛṣṇa with his friends Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Vasudāma, Kinkinīdāma and others. On seeing him Sadantaka is convinced that he who does not see him has his life wasted. He gazes at him for some time and then departs. Then follows a beautiful description of the forest at the invitation of Kṛṣṇa by the following verse.—

कुलचम्पककर्णिकारकिकसञ्चाम्पेयकान्तिच्छटा
वासन्ती नवमल्लिकुन्दकुटजश्रीमत् स्मितोन्मेषिनी ।

रकाशोकपलाशपाटलिजपाप्रोद्भिन्नरागोदयाः
स्वच्छन्दं कलयन्तु भोः प्रियसखाः कान्तावनान्तश्रियः ॥

Thus for instance, Sujaya describes Vṛndāvana in these words :—

मदाकालितकोकिलाकलितपञ्चमोदञ्चितं
विपञ्चितविपञ्चिकोत्तरलचञ्चरीकस्वनम् ।
सुपर्वततरुगर्वाभित (!) कुसुमितद्रुमालंकरं
विधेः^१ सकलकौशलं किमिदमेव वृन्दावनम् ॥

Pracanda referring to the southern breeze says :—

मलयहृदयजातः सोदरश्चन्दनानां कुसुमविशिषमन्त्री बान्धवो माधवस्य ।
यदिह वहति पद्मासन्नानां पद्मिनीनां प्रणयस्वननदक्षो दक्षिणो गन्धवाहः ॥

Further on he exclaims :—

वृन्दाटव्यटवीषु पत्रिषु शिखी शैलेषु गोवर्धनः
पुष्पेषु प्रियकः सरिंसु यमुना श्रव्येषु वंशी-वानिनः ।
गोधुग्वंशज निर्जनेषु वयसः संपत्सु कैशोरिमा
श्यामं धामसु निर्भरं कथमहो चेतश्चमत्कारभूः ॥

ACT II

Here ends the first act which is named Sādanandanah (?).

Just as the first act introduces to the audience Kṛṣṇa and his friends so the second introduces to it Rādhā and her friends. After some conversation takes place between them they move aside and there enters Kṛṣṇa with his friends. The friends begin to prepare the audience for acquaintance between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from a distance by describing the good parts of young and beautiful damsels in words like these :—

विकाशयन्ते हासेन कुमुदं मुदमेव च ।
संतर्पयन्ति रूपेण तरुणं चाशरीरिणम् ॥

And also

चरणौ कमले कमले च करौ युगलं कुचयोरपि तन्मुकुले ।
वदनं कमलं नयने कमले स्तनौः कमलात्परिचलैव तनुः ॥

After a time this man's attention is drawn to the Gopīs and asks his friends to make him acquainted with them. They one by one make known to him the several damsels who are seen there by describing each of them separately by references to her name, features, the development of her limbs and the nature of the beauty of the surroundings. The verses containing this description are full of puns, alliterations and other figures of speech.

The names themselves are very suggestive. Some of them are:—Campakakalikā, Kamalamālā, Kāmāṅkurā, Ambujalatā, Śrīngārasarasi, Rasataranginī, Surataruvallārī and Kumkuma-mañjarī. This over Kṛṣṇa, Śrīdāma and others move aside and Rādhā and her friends come to the forefront. She had seen Kṛṣṇa from the place where they were resting and had already been smitten with love for him. She therefore gives expression to that sentiment by the following verse:—

अनङ्गस्फीताङ्गाः कति न तरुणाः सन्ति जगति
प्रवीणा वा तन्त्रे कति न रतिनाथस्य कतिनः ।
तथापि प्राचीनैरविगणितपुण्यैर्मृगदशा—
मसौ याशोदेयः प्रियसखि दृशोरेति सविधम् ॥

Thereafter Bhādrāmukha who acts as the Vidūsaka goes to the place where they are sitting and returns after a time, crying. On Kṛṣṇa asking him the reason for doing so he says that he had gone to pluck some flowers and was prevented by the ladies from doing so on the ground that it would be a theft if he did so. Kṛṣṇa thereupon goes there and under the pretext of going to quarrel with the ladies begins to talk with Rādhā and eventually first holds her hand and then her garment. At the same time some one calls out Rādhā and Candrāvalī and thereupon all the ladies depart. So Kṛṣṇa says:—

चिरदिनचितैः पुण्योत्कर्षैः सरोरुहलोचना
प्रियतममिदं मय्यानन्दं तमुद्वेग्यथचान्निकम् ।
करतलगतां चेद्ग्राधां ममाधिमहौषधी
विधिरपहरेत् काशा प्राणेष्वनङ्गभुजङ्गमात् ॥

He broods over the situation for a time and then says that they had been out for a long time and should therefore return home. Then all depart. Here ends the second act named Mugdhamadhusūdanah.

ACT III

The third act begins with a prologue between one Rucīmātī and a Sylvan deity wherein the latter asks the former whether Rādhā was alright. She replies:—

स्वपिति न शयने न वा धरण्यां न च नलिनेषु न पल्लवेषु नाङ्गे ।
कलयति सकलं विषेण तुल्यं हरिहरिकेन कृतास्ति चित्तशून्या ॥

Joined by her, the deity says about the state of Kṛṣṇa:—

क्रीडासु प्रकटकितासु सखिभिर्न प्रीयते प्रीणय-
त्येनान्नो मुरलीस्वनैर्न च परीहासोपयुक्तोकिभिः ।
नो रज्यत्यलिगुञ्जितेन न (च) कलं केलीशुकोज्जल्पने
प्राणानामपि रक्षणे प्रतिपदं मन्दादगो नन्दजः ॥

The description of the love-smitten condition of both the spouses contains many other beautiful verses but the above are given as specimens. That over, the sylvan deity departs and the maid goes to the locality in which there is the mansion of Nanda and strolling about says how pitiable the condition of Rādhā had become. Thereupon Yaśodā comes out with two maids Sucaritā and Subhāsini. They talk about suitable and unsuitable matches and in the course of that conversation one of them says :—

कविता सुता च साध्वी सगुणालङ्कारशालिनी सरसा ।
जनयति जनकविषादं कुपुरुषनिहिता यदा भवति ॥

Then enters Nanda with Kṛṣṇa and his friends. Nanda asks Kṛṣṇa to go to his mother. When he goes there she asks him to go for a bath. He prefers to go to a lake and there sees a Hamsī who had been kept for sport by Rādhā and is attended by a female keeper. He enters into some conversation with her from which he gathers the nature and extent of her mistress's love for him. He then, enters the lake for bathing. While he is still doing so, there comes Rādhā with her friends. On seeing Kṛṣṇa there she casts a glance at him and he admires her beauty thus:—

साम्राज्यं मदनस्य वामनयनास्तत्रापि नव्याः परं
भव्याः सुव्रजसुध्रुवः स्मरकलालावण्यकेलिभुवः ।
तन्मध्येऽपि शिरीषसोदरतनुः प्राणाधिका राधिका
राधायां च मुखं मुखेऽपि किमपि स्निग्धस्मितालोकितम् ॥

And also

वर्णस्वर्णान्यधरवलसद्दीप्तयः पद्मरागा
दन्तामुकास्मितलवलसत्कान्तयश्चन्द्रकान्ताः ।
नेत्रद्वन्द्वयुतीरहिमहानीलरत्नालिरेतत्
पण्यस्थानं मदनवणिजो राधिकायाः किमङ्गम् ॥

Then roaming about, Kṛṣṇa meets the ladies near a garden and asks one of Rādhā's friends why they were coming often. She replies that she had gone there to ask him to a medicine for their friend Rādhā who was suffering

disease of a long standing. Kṛṣṇa replies that he would do that according to the view of Susruta and having said so draws near Rādhā. Her friends gauging the situation move aside. Availing himself of that opportunity Kṛṣṇa makes overtures to her and at last they probably enter into a Gandharva form of marriage I say 'probably' because the copyist has left a portion of p. 30 blank and pp. 30 and 31. are missing altogether. Here ends the third act named Susnigdhamādhavah.

ACT IV

The fourth act begins with a prologue between Brahmā and the gods as to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa. That over, there enters Kṛṣṇa with friends. This scene seems to have been laid in some far off forest in the valley of the Himālayas and the season is summer. So Kṛṣṇa referring to the natural surroundings says :—

निदाघेनाघूर्णन्हिमगिरिसमीपं दिनकरः
प्रयाति स्वस्थानाद्दाति न पटीराद्रिपवनः ।
विसृज्य प्रासर्ग्यं स्मरन्रपतिश्रैष रमते
सरित्तीरे रम्ये क्षितिधरगुहायां तलगृहे ॥

The description of the forest through Kṛṣṇa and his friends occupies many pages. Seeing palmyra palms his friends being desirous of eating their fruits ask for Kṛṣṇa's permission to pluck them which he gives. In going to pluck them they become separated from him. While moving hither and thither some of them meet a demon and become terrified. Baladeva who is with them gives them consolation that he will kill him and proceeds to do so. They therefore go into the interior to eat fruits and Baladeva goes, kills the demon and joins them again. After a time they all depart. In the next scene Kṛṣṇa appears with Candrāvali. The season then being the monsoon, they talk over the characteristics of that season for some time and then as it seems likely to rain. Kṛṣṇa takes Candrāvali into a bower and there says :—

व्योमव्याप्तमिदं पयोदपटलैर्दिङ्मण्डलं विद्युतां
द्यौतैः स्फूर्जन्धुत्रिस्तथान्धतमसैस्त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मिगुहम् ।
उच्चं नीचमिति प्रतीतिविषयो नैव क्षमामण्डले
किं मध्यं किमधः किमूर्ध्वममितः संभार एवाम्भसाम् ॥

श्रोत्राभ्यामुदिराम्भसां परमसौ सेव्योऽपि भव्यो ध्वनिः ।
नेत्राभ्यां निचिडान्धकारपटलान्यापश्य दियुयुतो ।
प्राणाभ्यां च रसज्ञपाय्यनुपदं त्वग्निश्च चित्तेन च
प्रायः प्राणसमेव भोग्यमाखिलं वर्षास्त्वह प्राणिनाम् ।

Accidentally then they drift into a conversation about Rādhā and she to the surprise of Kṛṣṇa suddenly appears. On seeing him with Candrāvalī in that lonely place she rebukes him for his inconstancy and he tries to justify his conduct and persuades her not to forsake him by saying:—

कलानाथः कामं व्रजति बहुदोषाङ्कितरुचं
कुमुद्वत्यास्तस्मिन्नपि भवति किंन्नाम न रुचिः ।
न पद्मिन्यामोदः किमु समुदयत्युष्णमहासि
प्रिया प्रौढप्रेमा न गणयति दोषान्प्रणयिनः ॥

She would not however forgive him and continues to reprimand him but is ultimately convinced that Kṛṣṇa there was Subala, a Gopa and Candrāvalī, another Gopa, in disguise and all her wrath melts away. There ends the fourth act called Sāmodadāmodarah.

ACT V

The fifth act begins with a dialogue between a Śuka and a Śuki who are Kīrṇaras. After a time the Vidūṣaka Bhadrāmukha comes in. He after some introductory remarks says to himself:—

प्रायः परपुरुषानुरागशालिन्यो विलासिन्यः ।

Thereupon Kṛṣṇa says to himself:—

कथं व्रजवनितानामप्यनुरागशालितानेन समलक्षि ।

Then seeing Rādhā from a distance he does not recognize her and exclaims:—

धन्यं धन्यं कुसुमधनुषः कौशलं यत्कृशाङ्गन्याः
सर्वाङ्गीना युतिरुदयिनी नेत्रपात्रीभवन्ति ॥
कोऽन्यो धन्यास्त्रिजगति युवां मादृशाद् भूरिपुण्यो
यस्मिन्नस्या नटति कुटिला दृष्टिपीयूषवृष्टिः ॥

After a time he recognizes her and says:—

लावण्यामृतवाहिनी मनसिजश्रेयोऽर्थचिन्तामणिः
सौन्दर्यद्रुमवाटिकाखिलकलारत्नैकसंपत्स्वतिः ।
शृङ्गारद्रुममाधुरी त्रिजगतश्चेतश्चमत्कारभू-
मूर्ता सर्वविलासवर्गनगरी राधेति बुध्यमहे ॥

Then gazing at the different parts of her body he admires them thus :—

श्रोणिः पृथ्वीदशनवसनं यत्रपानीयमङ्गं
प्रोयज्ज्योतिमुखसरसिजश्चर्जिगम्प्राणसारः ।
मध्यं व्योम स्फुरति किमियं नर्मनिर्माणधातुः
काप्येतस्यां कुसुमधनुषः सृष्टिशक्तिः प्रसूता ॥

Then he goes into the interior of the forest and there lures the Gopīs by the melodious notes of his flute. They remain at a distance for a time and Kṛṣṇa gets acquainted with them one by one through his Vidūṣaka and describes the peculiar charm of each. Thereafter they draw nearer to him and he cunningly asks them whether it was proper for such young damsels as they were to repair to a lonely forest at night-time and they reply :—

धैर्यं धिक्कुरुते (धिक्कुरुते) त्रपा विधुनुते कौलं यशः प्रोज्झति
प्रत्येकं गुरुगर्वगज्जनशतं विस्मारयत्यञ्जसा ।
साध्वीनामतिराकरोति भवनं भर्तुर्विधत्ते विषं
किं किं नो विदंधाति नाथ सुदृशां त्वत्प्रेयसि वंशिका ॥

So to test their intensity of their love he says :—

यशोनाशः स्वस्य श्वसुरपितृवंशेऽपि कलुषं
वचः शल्यं श्वश्र्वाः श्रुतिकटु ननान्दुश्च वचनम् ।
सपत्न्याः स्मेरत्वं प्रियपरिजनस्याप्यभिभवः
कुलस्त्रीणां स्वैराचरणलतिकायाः फलमिदम् ॥

And they come out successful by replying:—

यशोनाशः स्वस्य श्वसुरपितृवंशेऽपि कलुषं
वचः शल्यं श्वश्र्वाः श्रुतिकटु ननान्दुश्च वचनम् ।
सपत्न्याः स्मेरत्वं प्रियपरिजनस्याप्यभिभवः
समस्तं तच्छ्रुतं रमण करुणावान्यदि भवान् ॥

And one of them exclaims :—

नाथ ज्ञाता वचनरचना चातुरी यन्मनोज-
बह्विज्वालाज्वलितहृदेय स्त्रीजने धर्मशिक्षा ।
हास्यं न स्यात्कुजनसरसामीदृशां यत्पसङ्गात्
आनङ्गाधिं प्रशमय तथा जीवितं वा गृहाण ॥

So Kṛṣṇa yields and dances the Rāsa dance with them in the moonlit night. While doing so he draws their attention to the reflections of the moon in the waters of the Yamunā in language containing a pun on the word Candrāvalī and hinting that he loved her. Rādhā takes umbrage at it and therefore Kṛṣṇa in order to break her pride

moves to a distance. The Gopīs therefore roam about hither and thither in search of him, asking the trees, the creepers,³ the wind, the river, the moon &c; whether they had seen the object of the irlove just as Pururavā in Vikramorvaśīya asks the inanimate objects whether they had seen Urvasī.¹ The verses which they utter are couched in a very melodious language. Thus to the river they say,—

समन्दः कालिन्दिस्फुटमनुसृतस्त्वां कुमुदिनी
वनीध्राम्यद्भृङ्गी चयनयनभङ्गीवदयसे ।
अहो मन्दं मन्दं हससि विकसत्कैरवकुल-
च्छलात्तत्किं न त्वं वदसि भागिनि क्वास्ति चपलः ॥

On feeling a draught of the southern wind one of them says:—

अये भ्रातर्जातो मलयगिरितश्चन्दनवनी
सनाभिः कावेरी नवकमलिनिकेलिरसिकः ।
तमन्तः संतप्तः कथय किमिदं दक्षिणमरुन् ।
सखे ज्ञातं रुष्णस्तव मम च भोगी न सुखदः ॥

It is while the Gopīs are thus pining and struggling to find out Kṛṣṇa that the fifth act named Rāsavilāsa ends.

ACT VI

The Sixth begins with a prologue in which Kālindī and the sylvan deity enter and talk over the separation of the Gopīs from Kṛṣṇa. While this conversation is proceeding some one sings behind the curtain:—

गोपीनां वचनामृतैरतितरामातर्पितः प्रोशुप्त-
द्रोमोद्भेदभराङ्कुरः स्मितलवोत्कुलप्रसूनान्वितः ।
स्वेदाम्भः कणनिर्गलन्मधुकरः कंदर्पखेलाफलः
संमोदं वितरेन्मनो मधुलिहां शृङ्गारकल्पद्रुमः ॥
मंजीरव्रज कंङ्कणावलिचलत्काञ्चीकला सिञ्चते
वीणावेषुमृदङ्गस्रक्षरं करोत्ताले दिशश्चुम्बति ।
चन्द्रे चन्द्ररजस्त्विषाञ्चति जगन्निर्याति नीवीगुणे
देवीनां कुसुमानि वर्षति सुरे रासे हरिः क्रीडति ॥
वनितायुगलावलितो मधुजिन्मधुजिद्युगलावलिता वनिता ।
आल्पितै (?) मणिभिः कनकावलीभिर्मदनेन रुता किमु हारलता ॥

The two thereupon move aside announcing the arrival of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs and suggesting thereby that they had met together

¹ Cf. also Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa X. First half, chapter 30.

again. On entering they express mutual joy at reunion. While they are doing so Kṛṣṇa remarking that the night was over and the day was dawning, disappears. After his departure the Gopīs having talked amongst themselves for some time, depart. Then again enter Kṛṣṇa with Gopas preparing to go to graze cattles. Then they repair to a forest for that purpose and while the cattle are grazing they are terrified on seeing a big forest bull and speak of it to Kṛṣṇa. He encounters the animal and kills him. Then they go to the bank of the Yamunā and there the Sage Nārada appears and asks Kṛṣṇa why he had been leading this simple peasant-life and implores him to relieve the Rsis residing in that forest of the pest of a demon named Keśi. Kṛṣṇa thereupon hunts out the demon and kills him and then Nārada prepares him for another adventure by inviting him to witness the performance of a drama composed by him and he accepts the invitation. Here ends the sixth act named Kesi Vināśaḥ.

ACT VII

The seventh act begins with a prologue in which Sudarśana enters in an aerial car accompanied by Kātrīmatī. They talk about events in the kingdom of Indra. After a time they look down and Kātrīmatī on seeing the Gopas and Gopīs jubilant, asks her companion why it was so and he informs her that the play Kāmsavidhvamsana composed by the Sage Nārada is to be acted before Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Then enter Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva and the Gopas and Gopīs and the performance is commenced by the actors. In the prologue, it is said that this drama had been composed by the Sage Nārada the author of other dramas named Madanavinodanam, and Natavinodanam. The scene is laid in Mathurā where Kṛṣṇa slays Kamsa later on. It is said that in this play the Sage Bharata acted was the Sūtradhāra, the Sage Vātsyāyana as the Parapārśvika (Assistant to the stage-manager), the Sage Bādarāyana as Akrura, Asita and Devala as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Indra and others as cowherd-boys, the Apsaras as the wives of Gopas, Kāśyapa and Adīti as Nanda and Yaśoda, Aṣṭāvakra as the Vidūsaka and the Gandharvas as the songsters and musicians. On seeing the Naṭa-Kṛṣṇa of the subsidiary play enter the city somebody exclaims:-

धातुर्निर्मितिकौशलं रसिकता मूलं मनोजन्मन-
 श्चाञ्चल्यं मनसः समस्तमुदशः साक्षात्कलं चक्षुषः ।
 औज्ज्वल्यं भुवनस्य कर्मणविधिवैपुल्यमेकस्थलं
 सर्वाश्चर्यसमुन्नतेः कलयत श्यामं किमेतन्महः ।

The city is described by verses like these :—

इतो मीमांसानां श्रुतिविषयमामांसनमितः
समीक्षा साङ्ख्यानं मतमलपु वैशेषिकमितः ।
इतो वेदान्तानां प्रतिवचनासिद्धान्तनमितः
पुराणाया विद्या त्रपयति निवासं सुरगुरोः ॥
अमी पञ्चाध्यायीनयविपिन संचारचतुराः
परिस्फुर्जत्यश्वावयवचपदंष्ट्राच्छलसटाः ।
सदोदं च तर्कप्रकरणस्ररा धीरहरयः
परित्रस्ताभ्यो ये सुरगुरुमुखा वादिकरिणः ॥

The objective for going to that city is stated by the Nata-Kṛṣṇa in the following verse:—

रे कुलाङ्ग दुर्बुद्धे !

यत्साधूंस्तुदासि स्वधर्मनिरतान्यद्वाधसे यादवान्
यद्देवानुपमदंयस्यनुपदं यद्वर्धयस्युत्पथान् ।
यच्चास्मत्पितरौ तथा स्वपितरं बध्नासि कंसाचिरात्
तत्तत्कर्मतरोरवाप्स्यसि फलं स्याच्चेदृशोर्गोचरः ॥

The author seems also to have taken occasions in this act to insert some verses on the Vedānta philosophy like the following:—

सजातीयविजातीयस्वगतद्वैतवर्जितम् ।
यद्ब्रह्मोपनिषद्वेद्यं तद्ब्रह्मेदं विराजते ॥

There is one verse showing that he had also studied the Yogaśūtras of Patanjali, the words Kleśa, Karma, Vipāka and Āsaya occurring in one verse being technical terms used therein in peculiar senses. It is this :—

न क्लेशैः कर्माभिर्नापि न विपाकर्न वाशयैः ।
यः परामृश्यते कश्चित्तं नमस्कर्महे पुरः ॥

The below-mentioned verses somewhat resemble the 7th verse of the Mahimnastotra :—

याज्ञेया यज्ञपुरुषं वैष्णवाः पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
निरावरणमप्येनं संकिरते दिग्भ्वराः ॥
शिवः शैवैर्विश्वकर्मा शिल्पकल्पितजीवनैः ।
सर्वज्ञश्चैष विज्ञेयः सौगतागमक्रोविदैः ॥

After Kamsa is killed the courtiers ask Nata-Rama and Nata-Kṛṣṇa to think over who should be installed on the Gādī

of Mathurā and the said Kṛṣṇa says that they should go for the time being and be prepared for the staging of another drama called Ugrasenābhiseka. He then asks them what boon they expected of him and they say :—

सन्तः सन्तु निरापदस्तवपदद्वन्द्वे तदास्तां रनि-
मभूत्कश्चनमत्सरः परगुणैर्नन्दन्तु सारग्रहाः ।
कुर्यात्सुकविताः स्वर्गलघियश्चित्रान्प्रबन्धानमून्
भूयांसो विनयन्तु नाट्यकुशलाः पुष्पन्तु विज्ञाश्चताम् ॥

The Nāṭa-Kṛṣṇa confers the boon and the actors depart. Thereafter Nārada appears before the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa of the main drama and asks them whether they had been pleased with the performance. They reply in the affirmative and eulogize the sage. The latter then prays to them to inspire several young poets to sing their praises and all depart. Here ends the seventh act named Kamsavidhvamsanam.

COMPARISON WITH THE CONTENTS OF BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA X. 4 TO 40.

When we compare this story of Kṛṣṇa's life in Vraja with that narrated in the chapters 4 to 40 of first the half of the tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa we can at once see that the author has made some material additions and alterations in order to adapt it to the stage. One material alteration is that Kṛṣṇa has been painted by him as being liable to be overpowered by the amorous instinct in man on seeing young girls whereas in the Purāṇa, Bādarāyaṇa has depicted him as a superhuman being, an embodiment of universal love and virtue and has also taken care to put in at the end of the description of the Rāsakṛīḍā a word of caution thus :—

नैतत्समाचरेज्जातु मनसाऽपि हनीश्वरः ।
विनश्यत्याचरन्मौढयाद्यथा रुद्रोऽब्धिर्जं विषम् ॥ १०. पू. ३३. ३१. ॥

Another such alteration is that whereas in this drama Kṛṣṇa has been shown to have been specially attached to Rādhā and probably to have even entered into a Gāndharva form of marriage with her, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Kṛṣṇa has been depicted as the common centre of attraction of all the Gopa boys as well as of the Gopīs and women in general wherever he went, Bādarāyaṇa has also taken care to explain that the story of his

dalliance with them has been inserted only in order to illustrate the truth that whoever constantly thinks of God and is willing to stake his or her all for His sake is sure to be one with him in course of time. Thus in XXIX, 15-16 Śuka says:—

नृणां निःश्रेयसाथाय व्यक्तिर्भगवतो नृप ।
 अव्ययस्याप्रमेयस्य निर्गुणस्य गुणात्मनः ॥
 कामं क्रोधं भयं स्नेहमैक्यं सौहृदमेव च ।
 नित्यं हरौ विद्धतो यान्ति तन्मयतां हि ते ॥

In fact as you read that beautiful poem from chapter to chapter the one idea that becomes confirmed in your mind is that Kṛṣṇa was a very handsome and at the same time an extraordinary personality and that blessed were those men and women who had the good fortune to come in direct contact with him, whether they looked upon him as a child, as a playmate, as a friend, as the manifestation of Brahma or even as a foe. On reading this drama however the idea that is impressed on one's mind is that the author's intention was to depict Kṛṣṇa as a hero of the type of Dusyanta or Purūravā. Even his descriptions of the seasons unlike those in Chapter XX of the same Skandha of the Purāṇa are all filled with sentiments which are apt to promote love for the fair sex rather than for the pure self who is the fountain of universal love. There are no doubt references to the slaying of the oppressors of mankind such as Kuvalyāpīḍa, Keśi, Kāṁsa and others in the prologue to the first act and in the last two acts but they pale into insignificance before the elaborate and interesting descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's love-adventures. Perhaps he had the author of the Gītagovinda, or Abhijñānaśākuntala or Uttararāma-carita rather than that of Bhāgavata Purāṇa before his mind's eye as an ideal and if that is true then it must be said that he has succeeded in achieving it to a great extent because his work has its own merits as a work of art as the illustrations and the summary of the plot above-given amply testify.

CONCLUSION

Such being my opinion I would be glad if it could be published. The Ms. above-mentioned though likely to be of great assistance in preparing and even to serve as a basis for a critical edition, is on account of the deficiencies above-noted by itself insufficient for that purpose, even if all the necessary corrections are made therein. It is therefore necessary to obtain other Mss.

of the same work from other sources. With a view to get a clue as to their whereabouts I have searched through several Catalogues of the Ms. collections at Benares, Mysore, Madras and Jammu but the search through all of them except the first has proved fruitless. The first too only mentions 3 Mss. namely, K. 70; NP.X. 16; and Lahore. 6. None of these is available to me. I must therefore rest content with writing this article on that work and leave the task of editing it to some one having better facilities than myself for doing so.

ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF SOME
PASSAGES IN THE MAHĀBHĀSYA OF PATAÑJALI

BY

K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D.

Dr. Kielhorn was the most competent scholar to undertake to edit the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The German scholar enjoyed special facilities for this purpose. He was famous for his industry and accuracy. Besides he had the advantage of sitting at the feet of Anantshastri Pendharkar who was unsurpassed in his knowledge of the science of grammar as taught by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Kielhorn's edition of this literary monument of ancient India is regarded as most authoritative. I therefore make no apology for examining critically some passages in this edition. Dr. Kielhorn's 2nd edition Vol II, p. 90, has the following passage

पुत्तुचौ ॥ ३११११३३ ॥

किमर्थश्चकारः । स्वार्थः । चितोऽन्त उदात्तो भवतीत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात् नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाजयं तत्र नार्थः स्वार्थेन चकारेणानुबन्धेन । प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धम् ॥ विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि । क्वविशेषणार्थेनार्थः । अप्तृन्तृजिति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । स्वसृनप्तृ ग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिःसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिःसंबन्धानामिति ॥ सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थस्तर्हि । क्व सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थेनार्थः । अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृन्तृचोर्ग्रहणमतत्तृ इति वक्ष्यामि । यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । स्वसृनप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिःसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिःसंबन्धानामिति ॥

Comparing this text with the same passage as it appears in the Benaras edition, we find the following addition :—

तुच्छन्दसि तुरि मेघः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

It must be admitted here that Dr. Kielhorn in the appendix to his second volume, p. 453, says,

२२ E g B after संबन्धानामिति, तुच्छन्दसि तुरिमेघः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्. See P. V. 3, 59; VI, 4. 154.

But Dr. Kielhorn has omitted this addition from his text.

The question that arises here is whether this addition is a necessary or integral part of the passage. In order to answer this question we must try to understand the subject treated of. For this purpose I shall divide the passage as it is a dialogue between two persons.

First person asks :—

किमर्थश्चकारः ।

Second person replies :—

स्वार्थः । चितोऽन्त उदात्तो भवतीत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात्

First person objects

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाजयं तत्र नार्थः स्वार्थेन चकारेणानुबन्धेन ।
प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धम् ॥

Second person suggests

विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि ।

First person asks :—

क विशेषणार्थनार्थः ।

Second person replies.

अप्तृन्तृजिति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

First person denies this and says :—

स्वसूनप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनि-
संबन्धानामिति ॥

Second person says :—

सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थस्तर्हि ।

First person asks :—

क सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थनार्थः ।

Second person replies:—

अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृचोर्ग्रहणमेतत् इति वक्ष्यामि—

First person interrupts: you have already said:—

यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

Second person reminds him of his solution: स्वसूनप्तृग्रहणं निय-
मार्थं भविष्यति एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिसंबन्धानामिति and then
completes his own sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि

तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्वितिचोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

Here the sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि is incomplete; therefore I have used a dash after it. The subordinate clause that completes the sense is तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्. The previous sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि is the principal sentence with the subordinate clause तुश्छन्दसि &c dependent upon it. Between these two sentences there are parenthetical clauses which must be shown thus:

अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृचोर्ग्रहणमेतत् इति वक्ष्यामि —(यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरा
मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

स्वसृजन्महणं नियमार्थं भविष्याति एतयोरेव योनिःसंबन्धयोर्नन्वेवा योनि-
संबन्धानामिति)— तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्वितिचोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

On the principle अर्थक्रमः पाठक्रमाद् वलीयान् we must interpret the passage as above. सामान्यग्रहणं means तृ without the indicative letters न् and च्, which denotes both तृन् and तृच्. In this sense तृ is used by Pāṇini in his two later sūtras तुश्छन्दसि V, 3, 59 and तुरिष्ठेमे यःसु VI, 4, 154. But in the sūtra ष्वुत्तृचौ only तृच् is employed as it appears in कर्ता and हर्ता, with the udātta accent on the syllable तृ. The position of the accent will not be affected if तृ in stead of तृच् is employed in ष्वुत्तृचौ because as a प्रत्यय तृ will have the same accent (III, I, 3). But if Pāṇini had adopted this course, he would have laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency by attaching two different values to तृ in the three sūtras under consideration. सामान्यग्रहणं means तृन्तृचोर्नन् समानं रूपं तस्य ग्रहणम्. With a view to preserve this सामान्य ग्रहणं adopted in तुश्छन्दसि and तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु, तृच् with च् is used in the sūtra ष्वुत्तृचौ, which is thus explained in the Kāśikā :—

चकारः सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थः । तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयस्विति III, 1, 133.

From the facts set out above the conclusion is inevitable that the passage as it is given in Dr. Kielhorn's edition is defective without the concluding clause तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयःस्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Against the proposed use of तृ the objection is twice urged
मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः

because the rule in अप् तृन्तृच् which teaches the lengthening of अ in कर्तारौ कर्तारः does not apply to the Unādi words मातृ पितृ which form मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः not मातारौ &c though they end in तृ only as the Kāśikā says.

पितृमातृशब्दाबुणदिध्वन्तोदात्तौ निपातितौ

Pāṇini VI, 2, 11.

Kaiyata on ष्वुत्तृचौ says,

मातरास्विति । उणादिषु तृप्रत्ययान्ता मात्राद्यो निपातिता इति भावः । स्वसृजन्महणमिति । नष्टग्रहणं नियमार्थं स्वसृशब्दस्तु ऋत् प्रत्ययान्तत्वाद्विध्यर्थमेव ! सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थत्वं चकारस्य स्थितम् । तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयःस्वित्यत्राप्येतत् प्रयोजनसद्भावात् ।

Three reasons for attaching च to तृच् in ष्वुत्तृचौ are given. The first reason consists in making तृ अन्तोदात्त This is easily overruled by saying that as a प्रत्यय of one syllable only तृ becomes उदात्त (आद्युदात्तश्च III, 1, 3). The second reason for attaching च् to तृच् is

found in distinguishing it from the Unādi termination त् appearing in मात् पितृ according to the Unādi Sūtra

This is also overruled by saying that Pāṇini (VI, 4 II) mentions only स्वस्व नत् by way of restricting the operation of his sūtra to these two Unādi words and excluding therefrom other Unādi words मात् and पितृ. The third reason, which is the final decision, is that Pāṇini has committed himself by using त् as a substitute for both तन् and तच् in his later sūtras तुच्छन्दसि तुरिष्टेमेयः सु. If त् were now used for तच् only in this sūtra (III, 1, 133), his position would be illogical, and he would expose himself to ridicule. It is thus evident that the additional words are essential to complete the sense intended; and they must be restored at the end of the passage in Dr. Kielhorn's edition.

In the dialogue between two persons, as explained above, the agreement is unanimous that Pāṇini is the author of the two Unādi sūtras. Without this the whole passage would be entirely meaningless. In the words अत्रैव the reference is made by Dr. Kielhorn to अप्तुन्तच्. This is not only positively wrong but misleading. Here अत्रैव means अस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे in this very sūtra, namely, ष्वुत्तुचौ, where च् is added to त् in order to preserve its form त् as a substitute for तन् and तच् elsewhere.

I shall now proceed to deal with a second passage. Dr. Kielhorn in his preface to his first edition which is also reproduced in his second edition, says,

“Without the different commentaries on the Mahābhāṣya, the Vākyapadīya, the Kāśikāvṛtti, Siddhānta Kaumudī etc., each of which has proved useful in turn, my labour would have been much greater than it has been, yet sometimes all have failed me when I should have most prized their assistance. On a passage like ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु । ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु । on p. 36,9, they say nothing.” The whole passage referred to runs thus :—

यदि कश्चित्कुर्वतः प्रयोजको नाम भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् ॥ यदि तर्हि सर्वं इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः । यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते । ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु । ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु । आदित्यश्चास्याभिप्राये सज्जते । एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयेति तं चास्याभिप्रायमादित्यो निर्वर्तयति ॥

This passage appears in the Benaras edition as follows :—

यदि कश्चित्प्रयोजको नाम कुर्वतो भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् । यदि तर्हि सर्वं इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः । यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु । ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु इति । आदित्यश्चास्याभिप्राये सज्जते एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयेति इति तं चास्यादित्योभिप्रायं निर्वर्तयति ।

Here the word इति appears after पुटकौ कुरु. But it is omitted by Dr. Kielhorn as it is not found in the mss. examined by him. I wanted to inquire whether there is any manuscript of the *Mahābhāṣya* containing this reading. For this purpose I went to Mysore. And I am glad to say that a manuscript belonging to the family of Kashi-Sesha-Subrahmanya Shastri, contains the word इति after पुटकौ कुरु. The Shastri is an old man. He is a professor of grammar in the Sanskrit College in the city of Mysore. He has inherited this manuscript from his grand father who enjoyed the patronage of the last Peshwa Bajirao II. The ms. has been in the possession of the family for 150 years. The passage under discussion which is found in this ms. reads :—

यदि कश्चित्कुर्वतः प्रयोजको नाम भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् यदि तर्हि सर्व इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः यदभिप्रायेषु आसज्जन्ते ईदृशौ वध्रकौ कुरु ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुर्वन्ति ।

leaves 18 (b) and 19 (a)

The Sanskrit word इति is here necessary. It stands at the end of a noun clause which is in apposition to the noun अभिप्रायेषु. It may be noted that इति is a conjunction and resembles the English conjunction “that”. While the English word introduces a subordinate clause, the Sanskrit word stands at the end of such a clause. On the other hand यत् exactly resembles the English word “that”, as it introduces the subordinate clause in यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते &c. इति is used in the next sentence in this very passage एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो साहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावये चेति. The preceding sentence also must be similarly explained कः प्रयोज्यार्थः? What is the meaning of प्रयोज्य? (एष तस्यार्थः] ‘यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जते’ “ ईदृशौ वध्रौ कुरु ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु” इति’ Here it may be remarked there are two subordinate clauses.

The word वध्री वध्रिका or वध्र means a leather strap

वध्री वर्ध्री वरत्रा स्वाद्व्यादेस्ताडनी कशा ॥ ३१ ॥

वर्धते दीर्घाभवति चर्मरज्जुत्वाद्ध्रीं व्रियते अनया वरत्रा

Ksīrasvāmi on Amarakos'a Oka's ed. p. 163.

वध्रिका चर्ममयी वरत्रा

Ganaratnamahodadhi.

Benares ed, p. 127.

पुटक means पुट एव पुटकः पत्रनिर्मितः

Idem p, 28.

a hollow cup made of leaves. The word वध्री appears as वादी and पुटक as पुडका or पुडा in Marathi.



The third passage that attracts our attention is the following
 स्मृशोऽनुदके किम् ॥ ३।२।५८ ॥ किमर्थो नकारः । स्वरार्थः । जिनतीत्यायुदा-
 त्तत्वं यथा स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाचोऽयं विधीयते तत्र नार्थः स्वरार्थेन
 नकारेणानुबन्धेन । धातुस्वरैरेव सिद्धम् ॥ यस्तर्ह्यनेकाच् दधृगिति । वक्ष्येतद्वृषे
 द्विवचनमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यत इति ॥ विशेषणार्थस्तीर्हि । क्व विशेषणार्थेनार्थः ।
 किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः [८. २. ६२.] इति । किप्रत्ययस्य कुरित्युच्यमाने संदेहः स्याद्विषे-
 प्रत्ययः किं ब्वेति संदेहमात्रमेतद्भवति सर्वसंदेहेषु चेदमुपातिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रति-
 पत्तिर्हि संदेहादलक्षणमिति किप्रत्ययस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol II. p 106. On referring to the Benares edition we find किनिति व्याख्यास्यामः instead of कि प्रत्ययस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः Which is the correct reading? The Nyāsakāra Jinendra-buddhi says—

नकारः किम् प्रत्ययस्य कुरित्यादि । कि प्रत्ययस्य कुरित्युच्यमाने किपोऽपि-
 ग्रहणं स्यात् । अतो नकारोऽनुबन्धते ।

Kaiyata says—

संदेहः स्यादिति । किमेकपकारको निर्देश उत द्विपकारक इत्यर्थः । व्याख्यानत
 इति । तदनुबन्धकपरिभाषया च किपो ग्रहणाभावः ॥

Haradatta says—

एवंतीर्हि किन्प्रत्ययस्यकुरिति विशेषणार्थः । किप्रत्ययस्येत्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्
 क्वः किपो वा निर्देश इति, केरपि निर्देशोपकारस्यानचि चेति (VIII. 4.47.) द्विवच
 [न] म् ॥

The correct reading, which deserves to be adopted, is किनिति व्याख्यास्यामः.

The fourth passage which I propose to discuss is the following

संप्रोदश्च कटच् ॥ ५।२।२९ ॥

कटच्प्रकरणेऽलाबूतिलोमाभ्यो रजस्युपसख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

कटच्प्रकरणेऽलाबूतिलोमाभ्यो रजस्येभिधेय उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । अलाबूकटः
 तिलकटः उमाकटः ॥

भङ्गायाश्च ॥ २ ॥

भङ्गायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् भङ्गाकटः ॥

गोष्ठादयः स्थानादिषु पशुनामादिभ्यः ॥ ३ ॥

गोष्ठादयः प्रत्ययाः स्थानादिष्वर्थेषु पशुनामादिभ्यो वक्तव्या गोगोष्ठम् अविगोष्ठम्
 कटच्च वक्तव्यः । अविगटः उप्रकटः पटच्च वक्तव्यः अविपटः उप्रपटः ॥ गोयुगशब्दश्च
 प्रत्यया वक्तव्यः उप्रगोयुगम् ॥ खरगोयुगम् तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इङ्गुदतैलम्

सर्षपतैलम् ॥ शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इक्षुशाकटम् मूलशाकटम् शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इक्षुशाकिनम् मूलशाकिनम् ॥

उपमानाद्वा सिद्धम् ॥ ५ ॥

उपमानाद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । गवां स्थानं गोष्ठम् । यथा गवां तद्वदुष्टाणाम् ॥ कटज्वक्तव्य इति यथा नानाद्रव्याणां संघातः कट एवमवयः संहता अविकटः ॥ पटञ्च वक्तव्य इति । यथा पटः प्रस्तीर्ण एवमवयः प्रस्तीर्णा अविपटः ॥ गोयुगशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति गोयुगं गोयुगम् । यथा गोस्तद्वदुष्टस्य । उपगोयुगम् तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैलशब्दो विकारि वर्तते । एवं च कृत्वा तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति ॥ शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव । शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ॥

Mahābhāṣya

Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol II, p. 376, 377

Up to the end of the explanation of the 2nd Vārtika the text given above is identical or nearly so with that found in the Benares edition. From the beginning of the 3rd Vārtika up to the end of the whole passage, there are variations. In order to ascertain the correct text we must try to understand what Kaiyaṭa says

गोष्ठादय इति । प्रयोगसमवायिप्रत्ययरूपं निर्दिष्टम् चकारस्तु स्वार्थोनुबन्ध आसङ्गव्यः । तथाहि । समासाश्रयेण प्रत्ययाः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते तत्र चित्स्वरसमास-स्वरयोरभेदादेकफलत्वमारम्भप्रत्याख्यानयोरुपपद्यते ।

In the 3rd Vārtika the forms गोष्ठ &c. of the terminations गोष्ठच् &c. as they appear in living speech or spoken Sanskrit, are given by Kātyāyana. But the letter च् indicating अन्तोदात्तस्वर requires, never the less, to be affixed in the explanatory portion of the Bhāṣya. The reason for this is as follows. Under the 3rd Vārtika forms like गोगोष्ठ are explained as affixes ending in च् and having the अन्तोदात्तस्वर according to Pāṇini चित्ः (VI. 1. 163). This method is, however, refuted under the 4th Vārtika by treating forms like गोगोष्ठ as compounds according to Pāṇini's Sūtra समासस्य (VI, 1, 223) which teaches that compounds have अन्तोदात्तस्वर. Whichever method is adopted, the result is the same namely, the position of the अन्तोदात्तस्वर remains unchanged. For this reason in the Bhāṣya under the 3rd Vārtika the three expressions underlined गोष्ठादयः गोयुग शब्दश्च and तैलशब्दश्च should be corrected into गोष्ठजादयः गोयुगच् शब्दश्च and तैलच् शब्दश्च. But the expressions शाकट शब्दश्च and शाकिन क्षब्दश्च do not undergo this change for a reason which will be given later.

Let us now turn to the Bhāṣya under the 4th Vārtika. Here we have the प्रत्याख्यान or refutation of the first method by regard-

ing forms like गोगोष्ठ as compounds. Refutation is indicated by inserting न thus, कटञ्चक्तव्य इति should be corrected into कट न वक्तव्य इति, which then means, "In order that कटच् प्रत्यय may not be adopted here" we must take कट as a noun meaning नाना-द्रव्याणां संघातः कटः. So अविक्त as a compound has the अन्तोदात्तस्वर. पटञ्च-वक्तव्य इति should be corrected into पटच्च न वक्तव्य इति. गौयुगशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति should be changed into गौयुगचशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्य इति. And तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति should be altered thus

तैलचशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः ।

Here इति should be omitted because it is not wanted by what follows and because the omission is supported by the ms. K. Therefore we must read

तैलचशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः । प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैल शब्दो विकारे वर्तते । एवंच कृत्वा तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति.

As regards the words शाकट and शाकिन no change is to be made in them, as they are governed by Pāṇini's Sūtra चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिष्वध्याः (VI, 2. 134) according to which शाकट and शाकिन when they form the second members of a षष्ठी तत्पुंस compound, have the उदात्त स्वर on their first syllable. They thus exactly resemble affixes with उदात्त स्वर on the first syllable.

We have therefore

शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ।

शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ।

The use of the word एव here emphasises the fact that in the case of the preceding compounds we must expect प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः

The corrections suggested above are amply supported by the manuscript evidence recorded by Dr. Kielhorn as well as by the unanimous testimony of the commentaries. In the previous portion of this passage also there are variations. But they do not affect the meaning intended by Patañjali and they are pointed out in the Appendix.

THE TEXT OF THE JAINENDRA-VYĀKARAṆA
AND
THE PRIORITY OF CANDRA TO PŪJYAPĀDA

by

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It is a well-known fact that there are two redactions of the Jainendra sūtras. One of these is preserved in Somadeva's commentary called Śabdārnavacandrikā and the other is given by Abhayanandin in his Mahāvṛtti. Dr. Kielhorn maintained that Somadeva's recension of the sūtras cannot be the original one. Among the Jaina community itself opinion is divided on this point. Under these circumstances it is most essential to settle this problem, as it is interesting both from a literary and historical point of view, especially as its solution has an immediate bearing on the date of the Buddhist grammarian Candragomin as will be seen later.

The first and earlier redaction of the Jainendra sūtras is found in the Śabdārnavacandrikā of Somadeva who composed his commentary in Śaka 1127. This commentary is always called वृत्ति and not लघुवृत्ति in the opening and concluding verses and in the prose passage at the end of the work, which gives the date. There are two manuscripts of the Śabdārnavacandrikā in the Deccan College collection one written on palm-leaves and the other on paper. In both of these manuscripts, at the end of each pāda of the five Adhyāyas into which the work is divided we find the words इति जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणे शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ. But in a recent edition of the Śabdārnavacandrikā published at Benares, though at the end of the third pāda of the fourth Adhyāya and at the end of all the pādas of the fifth Adhyāya, the words शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ are given, still the expression वृत्तौ is replaced by लघुवृत्तौ at the end of all the pādas of the other Adhyāyas. However it is easy to see from the remarks made above in regard to the two manuscripts belonging to the Deccan College collections, that the word लघुवृत्ति is an interpolation only suggested by the name of Abhayanandin's commentary called Mahāvṛtti.

The second and later redaction of the Jainendra sūtras appears in the Mahāvṛtti of Abhayanandimuni, who says :—

देवदेवं जिनं नत्वा सर्वसत्त्वाभयप्रदं ।
 शब्दशास्त्रस्य सूत्राणां महावृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥
 यच्छ (च्छ) ब्दलक्षणमसुव्रजपारमन्यै-
 रव्यक्तमुक्तमभिधानविधौ दरिद्रैः ।
 तत्सर्वलोकहृदयप्रियचारुवाक्यै-
 व्यक्तीकरोत्यभयनान्दिमुनिः समस्तम् ॥ २ ॥

In the first half of the last verse Abhayānandin attacks his predecessor Somadeva and speaks of his own commentary as महावृत्ति or the larger commentary because it is more extensive than the work of Somadeva, which is on that account called लघुवृत्ति by some scholars.

Somadeva mentions Guṇanandideva, who preceded him in the work of explaining the Jainendra Sūtras. The latter's work is called जैनेन्द्रप्रक्रिया which reproduces as many sūtras as are practically helpful to beginners of Sanskrit. It is obvious that the Jainendra Prakriyā is an abridgment of some complete commentary on these sūtras either by Guṇanandin himself or some other Jaina author. Guṇanandin says:—

नमः श्री पूज्यपादाय लक्षणं यदुपक्रमं
 यदेवात्र तदन्यत्र यन्नात्रास्ति न तत्कचित् ॥

Jainendraprakriyā, Benares ed. p. 268.

We are told that his teacher was śrutakīrti the lord of poets.

सोऽयं यः श्रुतकीर्तिदेवयतिपो भट्टारकोन्तस्स को
 रंम्यान्मम मानसे कविपतिः सद्भाजहंसश्चिरं ॥

Jainendra-prakriyā, Benares ed. p. 300.

Śrutakīrti, the lord of poets may be identified with Śrutakīrti-traividya, who was living in Śaka 1040. After this year the Jainendra-prakriyā must have been composed. Guṇanandin borrows his explanation of the sūtra विधिनिमन्त्रणा &c II, 3, 152 from the Amoghavṛtti IV, 4, 125, and seems to be indebted for his line.

यदेवात्र तदन्यत्र यन्नात्रास्ति न तत्कचित्

to the introduction of³ the Cintāmapī of Yaśavarman, who says,

तदिहास्ति समस्तं च यन्नेहास्ति न तत्कचित् ।

This must have been suggested by the following well-known verse in the Mahābhārata.

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्र चित् ।

Ādiparva, Chap. 62, verse 26.

It is needless to state that the Jainendra-prakriyā belongs to the earlier redaction of the Jainendrasūtras as known to us from the Śabdārṇava-candrikā of Somdeva.

As I have said above, the second and later redaction of the Jainendra Sūtras is found in the Mahāvṛtti of Abhayadeva-muni. To this redaction also belongs the Pañcavastuka, which derives its Sūtras from the Mahāvṛtti. There is a third recension of the Jainendra Sūtras which is preserved by the Śvetāmbara community, who believe that the Sūtras emanated from the Tīrthamkara Mahāvīra himself, who taught them to his pupil Indra. Each pāda begins thus: स भगवानिदं प्राह. This Śvetāmbara collection of sūtras is called भगवद्वादिनी. If this Śvetāmbara setting is removed, the sūtras are found to be entirely identical with those in the Śabdārṇavacandrikā. Being independently preserved, these sūtras are most valuable, as they afford a good criterion to judge of the genuineness or otherwise of the two redactions of the sūtras mentioned above.

There is another interesting fact which deserves to be mentioned in this connection. Many of these sūtras are borrowed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra, and are thus found in the Amoghavṛtti, Cintāmaṇi and the Brhadvṛtti, as has been already proved in my paper entitled Jain Śākatāyana contemporary with Amoghavarsa I. Nor should we omit to mention Bhattakalanka who frequently cites Jainendra sūtras, in his Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana written in Śake 1526.

We have now ample material at our disposal, which will enable us to ascertain the genuine text of the Jainendravvyākaraṇa. Pūjyapāda defines the technical term इत्थुः thus.

अप्रयोगीत् 1, 2, 3.

The accuracy of this sūtra as given above is vouched for by the following nine authorities:

- अप्रयोगीत् 1. Jainendraprakriyā, Benares ed. p. 2.
2. Śabdārṇavacandrikā, „ p. 9.
3. Śvetāmbara recension.
4. Amoghavṛtti I, 1, 5.
5. Cintāmaṇi I, 1, 5.
6. Hemacandra I, 1, 37.

7. Rūpasiddhi.

8. Śakatāyanaprakriyā } p. 1.
of Abhayacandra }

9. Śabdānuśāsana of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka p. 39.

As regards these authorities it is of importance to note that the Śvetāmbara recension and Hemacandra are Northern while the remaining seven authorities belong to southern India of which Pūjyapāda was a native. It is thus abundantly evident that in the time of Hemacandra and even later both in Southern and Northern India the above form of the Sūtra that we are discussing, was considered genuine; and, what is still more important, in Southern India, to which the Digambara Jainas of Delhi and Jaipur look up as the land where their great teachers flourished and as the repository of the literary monuments of their community, this form of the sūtra and this alone was recognised as genuine up to Śaka 1526 or A. D. 1604, the year which saw the composition, by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, of his celebrated Sanskrit commentary on his own Sanskrit sūtras dealing with the grammar of the Kannaḍa language. If we turn to the Mahāvṛtti we see that this sūtra is written as,

कार्यार्थो प्रयोगीत्

and is thus copied into the Pañcavastuka. From the evidence set fourth above it is obvious that Abhayānandin has interpolated the expression कार्यार्थ into the text of the sūtra. This expression he must have borrowed from the commentaries of Gunanandin and Somadeva, who preceded him.

Let us now proceed to examine the Jainendra sūtra

शश्लोमि V. 4, 55.

and compare it with the forms it assumes at the hands of the writers belonging to the Pāṇinian school.

Pāṇini says:—

शश्लोटि VIII, 4, 63.

Kātyāyana remarks छत्वममि

Patañjali explains:—

छत्वममीति वकव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । तच्छ्लोकेन तच्छ्रुणेति ।

The Kāśikā borrows these remarks and Haradatta explains:—

शश्लोमीतीति अटीत्यपनीयामीति वकव्यमित्यर्थः । तच्छ्लोकेन तच्छ्रुणेत्यत्र

लकारमकारपरस्यापि शकारस्य भवति ॥

Jñānendrasarasvatī says

“ शश्छोति ” इति सूत्रं “ शश्छोमि ” इति पठनीयमित्यर्थः

Tattvabodhini

Nirnaya sāgara ed. p. 28.

In the face of these facts one would suppose that, like Candragomin, Pūjyapāda, who had before him the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali to guide him, would have written शश्छोमि instead of शश्छोति. That Pūjyapāda did really write शश्छोमि and not शश्छोति is amply proved by the following authorities.

शश्छोमि	Candra VI, 4, 157	
”	{ Jainendraprakriyā	{ Pūjyapāda's
”	{ Śabdārnavacandrikā	{ sūtra V, 4, 65.
”	{ Svetāmbhararecension	
”	{ Amoghavṛtti	{ Śākāṭyāna's
”	{ Cintāmaṇi	{ sūtra I, 1,
”	{ Śākāṭyānaprakriyā	{ 144.

It is thus clear that Pāṇini's sūtra शश्छोति is inadequate to account for such expressions as तच्छोकेन, तच्छ्रुणा. Haradatta therefore remarks:

यद्विस्मृतमदृष्टं वा सूत्रकारेण तत्स्फुटम् ।

वाच्यकारो ब्रवीत्येवं तेनादृष्टं च भाष्यरुत् ॥

अत एव च पाणिनीयमेतत् त्रिमुनिव्याकरणं वदन्ति सन्तः

Padamañjari, Benares ed. part I, p. 7.

On the other hand Abhayānandin borrows the inaccurate sūtra शश्छोति and tries to pass it off on the literary world thus :

शश्छोति

ज्ञयः पदान्तादुत्तरस्य शकारस्य अटि परतः छक (का) रो भवति वाक् छोभते धर्मविच्छेते । ककुच्छोभते ॥ पक्षे न भवति । वाक् शोभते । धर्मवित् शोते ककुषोभते । केचित् शश्छोमीति पठन्ति ॥ तेन तच्छो (!) कः तच्छा (!) समिति ॥

महावृत्ति

D. C. ms. No. 590 of 1875-76 p. 75 a and b.

D. C. ms. No. 1140 of 1884-87, p. 402 b.

This sūtra is borrowed by the Pañcavastuka which adds, अटीतिकिम् । वाक् श्लक्ष्णः ।

Pañcavastuka. D. C. Ms. No. 589 of 1875-76 p. 14 (b)

Sometimes Abhayānandin copies a spurious sūtra with its vārtika attributed by the Kāśikā to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana and tells us that these were composed by Pūjyapāda himself.

Patañjali says :—

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहाय्यस्तत् IV. 2, 43.

गजसहाय्यां च ।

गजसहाय्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् । गजता । सहायता

The Kāśikā, on the other hand, says.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहाय्यस्तत् IV, 2, 43

गजाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्

Kāśikā, Benares ed, part I, p. 391.

This well-known Sūtra and its vārtika, as they appear in the Kāśikā, are reproduced by the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi while they are altogether omitted from the Benares edition of Haradatta's Padamañjarī. Bhattoji Dikṣita remarks,

वृत्तिरुता तु वार्तिकान्तर्गतः सहायशब्दोऽपि सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तः

And this view is endorsed by Jñānendrasarasvatī in his *Tattvabodhini*, *Nirnaya sāgar* ed. p. 235.

Let us now turn to Abhayanandin. He says :

ग्रामजन ब (बं) धु सहाय्यस्तत् ॥

ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्भवति तस्य समूह इति वर्तते ।

ग्रामाणां समूहः । ग्रामता । जनता बन्धुता सहायता ।

गजाच्चेति वक्तव्यं गजता ।

This sūtra and its vārtika in the form in which they appear in the Kāśikā, could not possibly have been composed by Pūjyapāda, who lived more than a century before the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti, as I have proved in my paper entitled *Jaina Śākatāyana*, contemporary with Amoghavarṣa I. This fact affords the clearest proof that Abhayanandin has tampered with the text of the Jainendravākyakaraṇa. The genuine form of the sūtra which has just been discussed appears in the Śabdārṇavacandrikā and the Śvetāmbara recension, and is supported by many authorities, as will be seen from the following table.

ग्रामजनगजबन्धुसहाय्यस्तत् ।

Candra III, 1, 59.

गजग्रामजनबन्धुसहाय्यस्तत् ।

Śabdārṇavacandrikā and

Pūjyapāda III, 4, 143.
Śvetāmbara recension.

ग्रामजनबन्धुगजसहायात्तल् ।

Śakatāyana II, 4, 143.

Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmaṇi.

ग्रामजनबन्धुगजसहायात्तल् ।

Hemacandra VI, 2, 28.

Sometimes Abhayanandimuni entirely omits a genuine Jainendra sūtra the historical importance of which he fails to realise. I need only refer to the well-known sūtra

गुरुदयाद् भाद् युक्तोद्दः III, 2, 5.

which teaches the formation of such expressions as पौष संवत्सर, फाल्गुन वर्ष, or माघसंवत्सर. There is not a shadow of a doubt as to the genuineness of this Sūtra, which is amply corroborated by the testimony of the Jainendra-prakriyā, the Śabdārṇavacandrikā, the Śvetāmbara recension, the Amoghavṛtti, the Cintāmaṇi and the Brhadvṛtti of Hemacandra. I lay great stress on this sūtra of fascinating interest, which has enabled me to solve most satisfactorily the problem of the epoch of the Gupta era over which there had raged a heated controversy for nearly a century, and to offer a spirited vindication of Alberuni against the attacks made on him by his numerous critics of the nineteenth century.

It will be sufficient for my present purpose to notice some more Jainendra sūtras. Pāṇini says that the word धार्मिक is formed by adding the suffix ठक्.

धर्मे चरति IV, 4, 41.

अधर्माच्च ॥ १ ॥

अधर्माच्चिति वक्तव्यम्

Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn's ed. vol II p. 337.

Kātyāyana here tells us that आधार्मिक is similarly formed. It is natural to expect all subsequent grammarians to condense the teaching of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana into one single sūtra. That is exactly what has actually occurred, as is seen at a glance from the following comparison of the sūtras: धर्माधर्मौ चरति Candra III, 4, 39.

धर्माधर्मौ चरन्

Pūjyapāda III, 3, 193.

Śabdārṇavacandrikā and Śvetāmbara recension.

धर्मो धर्मौ चरति

Śakaṭāyana III, 2, 40.
Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmaṇi

धर्मा धर्मौ चरति

Hemacandra VI; 4, 49, Bṛhadvṛtti

On the other hand Abhayānandin makes Pūjyapāda say :—

धर्मं चरति

अधर्माच्च इति वक्तव्यम् ।

This is absurd. It is inconceivable that Pūjyapāda, who so frequently quotes the Mahābhāṣya in his Sarvārthasiddhi, could have copied Pāṇini's incorrect sūtras leaving it to later writers or Abhayānandin to correct them, as is evident from the following passages :—

यथा धर्माद्विरमतीत्यत्र च एष मनुष्यः संभिन्नबुद्धिः स पश्यति दुष्करो धर्मः
फलं चास्य श्रद्धामात्रगम्यमिति स्वबुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तते

Sarvārthasiddhi, Nīṭvēs ed p. 99.

Mahābhāṣya I, 1, 24.

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति

Sarvārthasiddhi pp. 5, 62, 124.

Mahābhāṣya (I, 1, 42)

सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो नियमार्थं इति

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 66.

Mahābhāṣya VI, 2, 80

अल्पात्तरादभ्यर्हितं पूर्वं निपतति

Sarvārthasiddhi pp. 3, 64

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed. vol II p. 473

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिरिति

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 264.

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed. vol II, p. 147

तद्विषयग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतं विषयग्रहणम् । क प्रकृतम् !

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 74.

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed vol. II. p. 149.

स्त्यायत्यस्यां गर्भं इति स्त्री सूते जनयत्यपत्यमिति पुमाञ्

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 112.

Mahābhāṣya IV, 1, 3.

I shall now cite some passages from Bhaṭṭakalanka who wrote Śaka 1526, and who was a profound grammarian in Dr. Ielhorn's opinion.

यथाह भगवान् देवनन्दी
मिडा एकार्थे वा

(Jainendra I, 4, 65)

Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana, 1st ed. p. 138.

जेनेन्द्रमते तु मिडा स्त्रिशोऽस्मद् युष्मद् अन्या इति

(Jainendra I, 2, 179.)

Idem. p. 230

अन एवासुत्रचद् अवान्याथेनेकं चम् इति भगवान् देवनन्दी

(Jainendra I, 3, 89)

Idem p. 174

These three Jainendra sūtras as quoted above, are found in e Śabdārnavacandrikā, Jainendra-prakriyā and the Śvetāmbara cension. But in the Mahāvṛtti, though the first two sūtras appear as cited above, the third sūtra is thus transformed by bhayanandin.

अन्यपदार्थेनेकं वं

I, 3, 86.

Pānini says :—

सप्तमी शौण्डेः II, 1, 40.

It is proposed to correct शौण्डेः into शौण्डादिभिः so that it may apply to all the words enumerated in the शौण्डादिः group. But Patañ-
li says this is unnecessary,

बहुवचननिर्देशाच्छौण्डादिभिरिति विज्ञास्यते

But this defence is unacceptable because Pānini himself more frequently uses forms like व्याघ्रादिभिः (II, 1, 56.) and श्रवणादिभिः (II, 1, 70.) Another sūtra of Pānini पञ्चमी भयेन (II, 1, 37.) is not adequate to explain the words वृकभीतः वृकभीतिः and वृकभीः. Therefore it needs correction. Accordingly, Somadeva gives Pūjyapāda's corresponding sūtras thus :—

का भ्यादिभिः I. 3, 33.

ईप् शौण्डादिभिः I, 3, 35.

These certainly must be the genuine sūtras. Let us turn to bhayanandin¹ He makes Pūjyapāda say :—

Jainendraprakriyā Benares ed. part I. p. 137, foot-notes.

का भीमिः I, 3, 32.

ईप् शौण्डेः I, 3, 35.

These must be considered spurious because शौण्डेः was ambiguous even in the days of Patañjali, while भीमिः not being used by Pānini was invented by Abhayānandin himself in imitation of Pānini's ambiguous style.

The most convincing proof that Abhayānandin has tampered with the text of the Jainendra is found in his sūtra आप औडः which is a copy of the well-known sūtra

औडः आपः

Pānini VII, 1, 18.

in which Pānini teaches that feminine nouns ending in आ, such as खट्वा, माला form their nominative and accusative duals in ई as खट्वे माले. Pānini affixes ड् to औ in order that it may denote both औ and औट्. Here he appears to have forgotten that in so doing he has brought this sūtra under the operation of the sūtra याद् आपः VII, 3, 113, which applies to डित् terminations. But the forms खट्वे, माले do not take the augment याट्. This mistake is so palpable that all the later grammarians have tried to avoid it thus:—

औरिम् Kātantra sūtra 211.

आप औतः शीः Candra II, 1, 17.

आप औतः Śabdārnavacandrikā. } V, 1, 15.
Jainendra-prakriyā.

आटश्च औतोः गीः Śakatāyanā, Cintā- } I, 2, 19,
maṇi,
Śakatāyana-prakriyā.

औता Hemacandra 1, 4, 20.

If we turn to Abhayānandin, we find that he presents this incorrect sūtra आप औडः as that of Pūjyapāda, without trying to understand the interesting discussion which it has elicited from Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya. Having thus placed beyond controversy the genuineness of Somadeva's text of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, we shall proceed to prove the priority of Candra to Pūjyapāda.

1st proof.

Pānini in the following sūtra

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः VII, 3, 34

tells us that the form विश्रम alone is correct and not विश्राम. The Kāśikā says सूर्यविश्रामभूमीरित्येवमादिकं प्रयोगसंन्याय्यमेव मन्यन्ते. Bhaṭtoji Dikṣita calls such forms अपाणिनेय. Candrar, on the contrary, says

मः सेटो नावम्यामिकमाचमविश्रमः VI, 1, 42

that विश्राम alone is correct, but not विश्रम. Pūjyapāda, who had before him these conflicting statements of Pāṇini and Candrar, regards both forms, विश्रम and विश्राम as correct, and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra:—

विश्रमो वा V, 2, 41. Śābdārnavacandrikā.

विश्रमो षञि IV, 1, 233. Śākatāyana, Amoghavṛtti.

विश्रमेर्वा IV, 3, 56. Hemacandra

2nd proof

Pāṇini sanctions the forms प्रञुः and सञुः

प्रसम्भ्याञानुनोर्ङुः V, 4, 129.

Candrar, on the contrary, says that प्रञः and सञः are correct.

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ङुः IV, 4, 119.

Pūjyapāda regards all the four forms as correct and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra:—

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ङुश्चै IV, 2, 164 Śābdārnavacandrikā, and Śvetāmbara recension.

संप्राज्जानोर्ङुश्चै II, 1, 222 Śākatāyana's Amoghavṛtti.

संप्राज्जानोर्ङुश्चै VII, 3, 155 Hemacandra.

3rd proof.

Pāṇini does not sanction पद्मनाभ, ऊर्णनाभ. The Kāśikā remarks तदेतत्सर्वमिह योगविभागे कृत्वा साधयान्ति Kāśikā (V, 4, 75)

Benares ed. Part II, p 120.

Candrar sanctions such words in the following Sūtra

नाभेः IV, 4, 104.

Pūjyapāda improves upon it and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra thus.—

नाभेः खौ IV, 2, 152 { Śābdārnavacandrikā and Śvetāmbara recension.

नाभेर्नाञि II, 1, 195. Śākatāyana, Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmani

नाभेर्नाञि VII, 3, 134. Hemacandra

This sūtra is thus explained.

नाभ्यन्तात् बहुव्रीहेरप् भवति नान्नि संज्ञाविषये हिरण्यनाभः । पद्मनाभः
नान्नीति किं । विकसितवारिजनाभिः ।

Cintāmani.

4th proof.

Let us compare

पारेमध्ये षष्ठ्या वा Pāṇini II, 1, 1. Candā II, 2, 11.

पारेमध्येऽन्तस्तया Jainendra I, 3, 15.

पारेमध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या Śākatāyana II, 1, 9.

पारेमध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या वा Hemacandra III, 1, 30.

These four proofs will suffice to convince Sanskrit scholars that Candā lived before Pūjyapāda. I have proved that the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa belongs to the latter half of the [fifth century A. D. when the twelve-year cycle was simultaneously used in Northern and Southern India, in the time of the Early Kadambas and their contemporaries, the early Guptas of the Imperial Dynasty. As Dr. Liebick has satisfactorily shown that the Candravṛtti was composed by Candragomin himself, the victory over the Hūnas mentioned therein was the one gained by Skandagupta about A. D. 455. On these grounds we may conclude that Candragomin was contemporary with Skandagupta and that Pūjyapāda lived a few years later but before the end of the fifth century A. D.

ŚUBHACANDRA AND HIS PRAKRIT GRAMMAR

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

— X —

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It is not abnormal 'in the lines of Jaina teachers that one and the same name' is borne by many authors belonging to different periods of time and as such, the students of Jaina Literature will have to be cautious in ascribing a particular work to a particular author. There have been many Jaina saints bearing the name Śubhacandra, and we have been able to list about eight Śubhacandras including the Prakrit grammarian with whom this paper is mainly concerned. We may note here the bare facts that we know about these various Subhacandras.

(1) Śubhacandra, the author of Jñānārṇava. His work is very popular but very little is known about his spiritual genealogy. There is a tradition, recorded in the Bhaktāmaracarita of Viśvabhūṣaṇa, that Śubhacandra and Bhartṛhari were brothers

1 There have been three or four Samantabhadras and about twenty Prabhācandras (See Manikchanda Granthamālā. (M. G. M.) vol. XXIV, Introduction).

and contemporaries of Bhoja and Muṇja. Leaving aside this tradition, inconsistent as it is in portions, we should try to settle the date of Śubhacandra. In Jñānārṇava he pays respect to Samantabhadra (Circa second century A. C.) Devanandī (alias Pūjyapāda, about 500. A. C.) Bhattākālanka (Circa 8th century) and Jinasena (9th century A. C.) Then Āśādhara quotes some verses from Jñānārṇava in his Sk. Commentary on Iṣtopadeśa of Pūjyapāda and this Commentary is composed before 1228. A. C. So Śubhacandra must have lived somewhere between Jinasena and Āśādhara.

(2) Śubhacandra¹ the Guru of Kulacandra. He was a contemporary of King Uddyotakesari of Orissa. He is mentioned in a cave inscription at Udayagiri. It is inferred that he belonged to the 10th century A. C. Pt. Jugalakishor holds that this Śubhacandra, in all probability is the same as author of Jñānārṇava.

(3) Śubhacandra Saiddhāntika² the disciple of Gaṇḍa-vimukta-maladhāri-deva. He died in Śaka 1045 (1123. A. C.) and a Nisadyā in his memory was built by king Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala. Būcirāja³ also is his disciple who died in 1115 A. C. He is famous as the Guru of many male and female disciples whose Nisadyā inscriptions are preserved at Śravana Beḷgoḷa. His disciple Ganga-Camūpati⁴, who was a commander of the army of the Poysala King Viṣṇuvardhana, has built some Jaina temples and with reverence he mentions the name of Śubhacandra. Thus this Śubhacandra appears to have been very popular claiming many disciples from royal families; he caused many temples to be built and idols to be erected.

(4) Śubhacandra⁵ the pupil of Devakīrti. He is mentioned in an inscription of 1163. A. C.

(5) Śubhacandra⁶ the disciple of Rāmacandradeva. He died in Śaka 1235 (1313 A. C.) Padmanandī and Mādhavacandra were his disciples. He is known as Ādhyātmika-Śubhacandra.

(6) Śubhacandra⁷ the disciple of Māghanandī Vratī. He had two pupils Cārukīrti and Sāgaranandī.

1 See Archaeological S. I. Annual Report 1902-3 p. 40.

2 Epigraphica Carnatica II. Inscription Nos. 117, 125 &c.

3 EC. II. 126.

4 EC. II. 130, 74. and in many other inscriptions.

5 EC. II. 34.

6 EC. II. 15, 384 &c.

7 EC. II. 380; 471.

(7) Śubhacandra the successor of Padmanandisūri. His successor was Jinacandrasūri the teacher of Pt. Medhāvī who speaks of all these three in quite glorious terms in the Praśasti of his Dharma-Saṁgraha-Śrāvakācāra¹, which was completed in the year 1541 V. era (1484. A.C.). So this Śubhacandra might have flourished at the beginning of the 15th century.²

We are unaware of the literary activities of most of these Śubhacandras. There is a belief in some circles that the Prakrit grammarian is the same as the author of Jñānārṇava-only to show how groundless this understanding is, we had to enumerate all the known Śubhacandras. At the outset it may be said that the grammarian Śubhacandra is altogether different from these and a quite recent author as proved below.

Śubhacandra, the Prakrit grammarian, at the end of most of his works has given his spiritual genealogy, sometimes in short and sometimes at a full length. He belonged to Nandī-saṅgha, a sub section of Mūla-Saṅgha, and Balātkāragana. The genealogy begins from Kundakunda of venerable antiquity and runs as below :—

Kundakunda
|
Padmanandi
|
Sakalakīrti
|
Bhuvanakīrti
|
Jñānabhūṣana
|
Vijayakīrti
|
Śubhacandra

Some of the predecessors of Śubhacandra were great writers. Traditionally Kundakunda is said to have composed eightyfour Pāhuḍas but only about a dozen of his works have come down to us. Some of them like Pravacanasāra and

1 Published by Jaina-Siddhanta-Pracharaka-Mandalī, Benares 1910. The translator gives 1561. V. era which is a mistake. The chronogram in the Praśasti runs thus :—

‘ चन्द्राब्धिवाणैकमितिऽत्र वत्सरे ’

Verse No. 21.

2 The Saudatti Inscription of Śaka 902 mentions one more Śubhacandra, disciple of Bāhubali—thus he will be the eighth. See Journal B. B. R. A. S. X. p. 171 &c.

Samayasāra are big works while others like different Pāhuda are very short treatises. All his works are in Prakrit (Jaina Śauraseni). Kundakunda flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. We are not told how much time elapsed between Kundakunda and Padmanandi. Padmanandi was another name of Kundakunda but that is out of consideration here. There have been many Padmanandis¹ and the most popular one is the author of twentyfive small books of which Ekatva-Saptati is oft quoted. The problem of the date² of this author is very intricate; in all probability he flourished at the end of the twelfth century. It is possible that he is the same as our Padmanandi of the genealogy. Considering the gap between Padmanandi and Kundakunda there is scope for conjecture that the line of Śubhacandra began really from Padmanandi and only as a tradition they might have claimed descent from Kundakunda. Kundakunda was a Southerner while from Sakalakīrti onwards all of them have been Bhattarakas at Śākavāṭa (modern Sāgavāda) in Rajaputana. We think that Padmanandi perhaps was a Southerner and in all probability, he migrated into North and established the Patta at Sāgavāda. Then comes Sakalakīrti³ who is a voluminous writer. Not less than twenty-eight works are ascribed to him. Some of which are:—Mūlācāra-pradīpaka, Śrīpāla-carita, Yaśodhara-carita, Tattvārtha-Sāra-dīpaka⁴ etc. He is spoken as *Purāṇa-mukhyottama-śāstrakārī* and *Mahā-kavitvādi-kalāpravīṇaḥ*.⁵ Śubhacandra speaks of him in his Pāṇḍava-purāṇa,

कीर्तिः कृता येन च मर्त्यलोके
शास्त्रार्थकर्त्री सकला पवित्रा ॥

There are many works current in the name of Sakalakīrti and all of them should not be indiscriminately put in the fourteenth century as there was one more Sakalakīrti⁶ who flourished in the 19th century. We do not know any literary activities of

1 About six are mentioned in Śravana Belgola inscriptions E. C. II.

2 We propose to take it in our paper on Nimba-Sāmantā.

3 We are aware that there appears to be an unusually longer period of time between Padmanandi and Sakalakīrti when we take into consideration that the latter is generally assigned to the end of the 14th century. But our words on the date and identification of Padmanandi are only tentative.

4 See. Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84; Peterson's Report. IV and Jaina Hitaishi vol. XII p. 90.

5 See J. H. Vol. XII p. 90.

6 J. H. XII. p. 90

Bhuvanakīrti. Then Jñānabhūṣaṇa was a far famed author, who according to a Paṭṭāvali¹ is said to have travelled all over India. Though he was occupying the Bhaṭṭāraka chair at Śāgavāḍa, it appears from the Paṭṭāvali that he had many disciples in the south also. He is the author of Tattva-jñāna-taraṅgini (completed in 1503. A. C.), Pañcāstikāyaṭikā, Nemi-nirvāṇa-kāvyatikā and some other ritualistic works. In 1503 A. C. he had already vacated the pontifical chair in favour of Vijayakīrti² as pointed out by Pt. Premijī³. Then we pass on to Śubhacandra the grammarian.

We know very little about the personal history of Śubhacandra. It is quite unusual with Jain monks to leave a record of facts of their household life. Thus naturally we come to lose the names of their fortunate parents and what we possess about Śubhacandra is his spiritual genealogy which in short is given above. A Gurvāvali is published in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara IV where a line of about 103 teachers is glorified beginning with Gupti-gupta and ending with Padmanandi. In that line Śubhacandra is numbered as the 90th teacher and is glorified in brilliant terms. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka at Śākavāṭa, the Bhaṭṭārakaship of which place was subsidiary to that of Īḍara.⁴ Śākavāṭa as noted above is the same as modern Śāgavāḍa where at present there is no Bhaṭṭāraka chair: there are some Jaina families and a pretty Pāṭhaśālā.

The huge number of books that have come down to us from Śubhacandra's pen testifies to his scholarship and wide learning. Śubhacandra is an all round literary enthusiast. He is said to have been well-versed in three lores—grammar, logic and metaphysics and a master of six languages.⁵ The following

1 Published in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara IV.

2 शुभचन्द्राचार्ययुक्तावली (जै. सिं. भा. IV. प. 54) speaks of विजयकीर्ति in this manner.

विजयकीर्तिर्यतिर्जितमत्सरो
विदितगोमटसारपगमः ।
जयति तत्पद्मासतशासनो (?)
निखिलतार्किकतर्कविचारकः ॥
यः पूज्यो दुपमसि सैरवमहादेवेन्द्रसख्यैरुपैः
षट्कर्तृगमशास्त्रकोविदमातिर्जाययशश्चन्द्रमा ।
मध्याम्भारिहभास्करः शुभकरः ससाराविच्छेदकः
सोऽप्याच्छ्रीविजयादिकीर्तिमुनिमो भट्टारकाधीश्वरः ॥

3 Introduction to M. G. M. Volume XXI.

4 Shri Pannalal Saraswati Bhavana Report IV. p. 87.

5 This title might have been given to him after he composed his Prakrit grammar.

extract from the Pattāvali tells us that he had mastered many works on Logic, Grammar, Metaphysics and Rhetorics. He wandered over various parts of the country, maintained a band of pupils, defeated in disputes many logicians and had an accurate knowledge of his religion as well as that of others. The passage, interesting as it is for the mention of many works studied by Śubhacandra, runs thus:—

“तत्पट्टप्रकटचतुर्विधसङ्घसमुद्रोह्लासनचन्द्राणां, प्रमाणपरिक्षा¹—पत्रपरीक्षा²—
गुणपरीक्षा³—परीक्षामुख⁴—प्रमाणानिर्णय⁵—न्यायमकरन्द⁶—न्यायकुमुदचन्द्रोदय⁷—
न्यायविनिश्चयालंकार⁸—श्लोकवार्तिक⁹—राजवार्तिकालंकार¹⁰—प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड¹¹—
आप्तमीमांसा¹²—अष्टसहस्री¹³—चिन्तामणिमीमांसाविवरण—वाचस्पतितत्त्वकौमुदप्रमुखकर्क-
शतर्क जैनेन्द्र—शाकटायनेन्द्र—पाणिनि—कलाप—कान्यस्पष्टविशिष्टसुप्रतिष्ठाष्टसुलक्षण—
विचक्षण—त्रैलोक्यसार¹⁴—गोम्मटसार¹⁴—लब्धिसार¹⁴—क्षपणसार¹⁴—त्रिलोकप्रज्ञप्ति¹⁵—
सुविज्ञप्ति¹⁶—अध्यात्माष्टसहस्री¹⁷—छन्दोऽलंकारादिशास्त्रसरित्प्रातिपारप्राप्तानां, शुद्धचिद्रूप-
चिन्तनविनाशिनिद्राणां, सर्वदेशविहारावाप्तानेकभद्राणां, विवेकविचारचातुर्यगाम्भीर्य-
धैर्यवीर्यगुणगणसमुद्राणां, उत्कृष्टपात्राणां, पालितानेकशश्चात्राणां, विहितानेकोत्तम-
पात्राणां सकल—विद्वज्जनसभाशोभितगात्राणां, गौडवादितमःसूर्य—कलिङ्गवादि-
जलदसदागति—कर्णाटवादिप्रथमवचनखण्डनसमर्थ—पूर्ववादिमत्तमातङ्गमृगेन्द्र—तौलववा-
दिविडम्बनावीर—गुर्जर—वादिसिन्धुकुम्भोद्भव—मालववादिमस्तकशूल—जितानेका खर्वगर्व-
त्राटनवज्राधाराणां ज्ञातसकलस्वसमयपरसमयशास्त्रार्थानां, अङ्गीकृतमहाव्रतानाम-
भिनव—सार्थकनामधय—श्रीशुभचन्द्राचार्याणाम् ॥”

Even a glance at the range of subjects covered by his books brings home to our mind the width of his comprehension and spontaneity of his zeal as an author. Some of his compositions especially on ritual might not be appreciated in the 20th

1-2 Of Vidyānanda

3 Perhaps lost to us.

4 Of Mānikyanandi

5 Of Vādirāja.

6 Perhaps lost to us

7 Of Prabhācandra—a com. on Laghīyastrayam of Akalanka

8 Of Vādirāja—a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya of Akalanka.

9 Of Vidyānanda

10 Of Akalanka

11 Of Prabhācandra—a commentary on Parikṣāmukha above

12 Of Samantabhadra

13 Of Vidyānanda

14 Of Nemicandra

15 Of Yati Vṛṣabha

16-17 Perhaps lost to us

century. That only shows how Bhāṭṭarakas of the sixteenth century tried to keep intact the Jaina community, not so much by checking popular superstition and imitationary inclination of the mass but by accommodating them in a thorough Jaina colour. Certainly it was their weakness but the tide of time was too strong. Ritualistic festivities are always fascinating and it is no wonder if the general run of the mass attempts to find spiritual consolation even in rituals. Even the most orthodox Pandita will have to admit, he does so unawaringly when he says that the modern Jainas are not observing their ritualistic routine, that the Jaina rituals had grown to such an extent from 12th century onwards that even some of the best Jaina authors have composed treatises on rituals. Śubhacandra is only a popular author like Sakalakīrti; his works are more of an explanatory and popular character than profound and original contributions.

In his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa, Śubhacandra has given a list of works composed by him before 1608 V. era. (1551 A. C.) the year in which he completed his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa.¹ There he gives names of twentyseven works of which the following are Jaina purāṇas:—1 Candraprabha Carita, 2 Padmanābha Carita, 3 Pradyumna Carita, 4 Jivamdharma Carita, 5 Candanā Kathā, 6 Nāndīśvarī Kathā, 7 Pāṇḍavapurāṇa. Then the works on rituals are as below:—1 Trimsat-catur-vimsati-pūjā² 2 Siddhārcanam, 3 Sarasvatīpūjā, 4 Cintāmanipūjā, 5 Karma-dahana-Vidhāna,³ 6 Gaṇadharavalaya-Vidhāna,⁴ 7 Palyopama Vidhāna, 8 Cāritra-śuddhi-vratodyāpana, 9 Sarvatobhadra-vidhāna. Then the following are the commentaries:— 1 Pārśvanātha-kāvya-pañjikā-ṭikā, 2 Āśadhara-pūjāvṛttih, 3 Svarūpa-sambodhana-Vṛttih. 4 Adhyātma-padya-vṛttih. Then there are some polemic and philosophical works:—1 Samsāya-vadana—vidhāna, 2 Apasabda—khaṇḍana, 3 Tattva—nirṇaya, 4 Śaḍvāda. Then there is Angapannatti, a work in Prakrit giving a traditional survey of Jaina Literature; a Prakrit grammar called Cintāmani and a collection of Stotras—we may put these three works under the miscellaneous group.

1 There is a Ms. of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa written in 1623 V. era.—only 15 years after its composition. See Sarasvatī Bhavana Report. Vol. II. p. 79.

2 There is another *Tri.* by Bhāṭṭaraka Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

3 We have seen many Mss of Karma; but nowhere the name of the author is given.

4 There is another by Āśadhara

His literary activities did not terminate with the completion of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa as there are some works composed by him after 1551 A. C. He wrote his Karakaṇḍu Carita¹ in 1611, V. era. (1554 A. C.) and his Kārtikeyānupreksātīkā² in 1613, V. era. (1556 A. C.). It is imaginable that he might have written some books even after 1556 A. C. Here we give names of a few works traditionally ascribed to Śubhacandra but which are not mentioned in his Praśastī of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa. Of these Samavaśāraṇapūjā³, Sahasranāma, and Vimāna-Śuddhi-Vidhāna come under ritualistic head; Samyaktva-Kaumudī Subhasitārnava and Subhāsita-Ratnāvalī under didactic while Tarka-śāstra is a work on Logic. In only a few of his works Śubhacandra has given dates of their composition. So far as our knowledge of the limit of dates of his works is concerned Adhyātma-Taraṅginī-tīkā was composed in 1573, V. era. (1516 A. C.) and Kārtikeyānupreksā-tīkā in 1613, V. era. (1556 A. C.). Thus Śubhacandra's literary activities extended over a period of more than forty years.

In the opening verses of some of his works Śubhacandra somehow manages to mention the name of Jñānabhūṣana, after whom the pontifical chair was occupied by Vijayakīrti whom our Śubhacandra succeeded. The fact that Śubhacandra prefers the name of Jñānabhūṣana to that of Vijayakīrti, his immediate predecessor, points to one thing, that Śubhacandra might have spent some days at the feet of Jñānabhūṣana and some of his lessons in Jaina scriptures he might have received from him. Pt. Premi⁴ has proved with epigraphical evidences that Jñānabhūṣana was on the pontifical chair about the years 1534-36, V. era (1477-79, A. C.) and by the time of 1557-61, V. era (1500-4 A. C.) Vijayakīrti came to occupy the chair. One important fact that is to be noted here is that Jñānabhūṣana was living even after he had given up the chair in favour of Vijayakīrti. Jñānabhūṣana completed his Taraṅginī⁵ in 1503 A. C.

1 द्वाष्टे विक्रमत' शते सम इते (?) चैकादशाब्दाविके ।

भाद्रे मासि समुज्ज्वले शुगतिथौ खड्गे जवाच्छे दुरे ॥

श्रीमच्छ्रीवृषभेश्वरस्य सद्गते चक्रे चरित्व लिद ।

राजः श्री शुभचन्द्रस्य रियतिपश्चात्पापिपस्याद्भूतम् ॥

(a Ms. in Sholapur Jaina Boarding House)

2 श्रीमद्विक्रमचूपाते परिमिते वर्षे शते षोडशे, माघे मासे दशाययान्तिमाहते

Jain Hitaishī XV, p. 336.

3 Some Mss. of these Pūjās seen by us do not mention at all the name of the author.

4 Introduction to M. G. M. vol. XXI. p. 13

5 यदेव विक्रमातीताः शतपञ्चदशाविकाः

षष्ठिसवत्सरा जातास्तदेव निर्मिता कृति

Introduction to M. G. M. XXXI n. 12

Further Pt. Jugalakishore¹ has noted an evidence that a Ms. of Jñānārṇava written in 1575 V. era (1518 A. C.) was given as a gift to this Jñānabhūsana which goes to show that he lived as far as 1518 A. C. From these dates it is sufficiently clear that Jñānabhūsana and Śubhacandra must have been contemporaries for some time.

When Śubhacandra succeeded Vijayyakīrti is an important question but we have very little material with us to work out the details. In his Praśasti of Adhyātmatarangini² Śubhacandra speaks of himself only as a disciple of Vijayyakīrti and not as a Bhaṭṭāraka, so upto 1516 A. C. he was not a Bhaṭṭāraka but at the end of his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa he speaks of himself as having succeeded Vijayyakīrti and in the colophon he gives his title of Bhaṭṭāraka.³ So sometime between 1516-1551 A. C. he became Bhaṭṭāraka.

Before taking up the study of Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar we would like to have a digression here as to whether there exists any Prakrit grammar written in Prakrit language. An important section of the Prakrit literature is covered by Prakrit grammars some of which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era and some of them are as late as 18th century. The most conspicuous feature of all Prakrit grammars is that they are unexceptionally written in Sanskrit. This phenomenon is a clear contrast against that of Pali grammars which are composed in Pali. There are many common features between Pali and Prakrit Literature. Then it is not much if we expect that there must have been some Prakrit grammars written in Prakrit like the Pali grammar of Kātyāyana. No such grammar is discovered as yet. But from the following quotations it appears that there might have been some such grammar.

i Haribhadra, in his commentary on Daśavaikālika Sūtra discussing about a case termination remarks *Prākṛta-Śailīyā Caturthyarthē Śaṣṭhī* and then quotes :—

‘छट्ठी विभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी’

ii Then Malayagiri in his Commentary on Āvaśyaka-sūtra⁴ quotes ;—

‘ बहुवचनेण दुवचणे छट्ठी विभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी ।

जह हत्था तह पाया नमोत्थु देवाहिदेवाणं ॥’

1 See. J. H. vol. XII p. 89.

2 Sanatana Jaina Granthamala Vol. XV. p. 236.

3 Sarasvatī Bhavana Report Vol. II. p. 78.

4 P. 26 of Agamodaya Samiti Edition.

The first line contains two rules corresponding to VII. 63-64 of Vararuci and iii. 130-31 of Hemacandra and the second contains the illustrations.

iii The same author in his Commentary on Nandisūtra¹ remarks:—

सूत्रे षष्ठी प्राकृतलक्षणात् चतुर्थ्यर्थे वेदितव्या, उक्तं च,
“ छट्ठीविभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी ”

In another context he quotes:—

‘ मनुवत्थम्मि मुणिज्जह आलं इल्लं मणं तह च. ’ ।

This also is a metrical line. In all probability Haribhadra and Malayagiri are quoting from some Prakrit grammar composed in verses. Trivikrama's Sūtras are metrical but they are in Sanskrit. It is essential that the Jaina libraries must be critically inspected and perhaps such a work would be discovered.

Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar with his Commentary is known as Śabda-Cintāmāni and the phrase Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa² in the opening verse will have to be taken in its usual sense. The title Cintāmāni is not unprecedented in grammatic literature and it appears to have been suggested from the Cintāmāni-ṭikā of Yakṣavarman on Śākaṭyāna's Śabdānuśāsa.

Śubhacandra's grammar like that of Trivikrama is divided into three chapters each in turn containing four Pādas. The total number of Sūtras is 1224 as against 1085 of Trivikrama.³ Of these, 998 Sūtras are devoted to the treatment of Māhārāṣṭrī including Dhātuvādesas; 26 to Śaurasenī; 18 to Māgadhī; 21 to Paisācī; 4 to Cūlikā Paisācī and 157 to Apabhraṃśa. Prakrit grammars are of little practical value unaccompanied by a commentary. So Śubhacandra has his own Vṛtti. Sūtras too are his compositions and not like Lakṣmīdhara and others he has commented on the Sūtras of others.

Dr. Hoernle had published a query in Indian Antiquary (II. 29) to know whether there existed any other Mss. of Śubhacandra's grammar beside the one he had come across. His Ms. contained only two chapters and the concluding colophon at the end of the second chapter led him to believe that the Ms. he had discovered was complete. He added a few general remarks and

1 Page 43 Agamodaya Edition.

2 See appendix, B.

3 The number of Sūtras in each pāda and adhyāya can be seen below in the analysis.

the opening Samjñā Sūtras, he considered to be an unique feature in this work ¹

We give below a general analysis of Śubhacandra's work which would indicate the nature of contents and the method of treatment.

I. i. Sūtras 1-55.

1-2 Introductory; 3-14 Explanation of the terminology adopted in the work; 15-16 Prakrit and its varieties; 17-18 An *adhikāra* Sūtra and the interchange of vowels in compounds; 19-23 Samdhi rules; 24-39 changes of final consonants; 40-47 Rules about nasal insertion and elision; 48-53 Rules about Genders in Prakrit; 54-55 Change of Visarga &c.

I. ii. Sūtras 1-127.

1 An *adhikāra* Sūtra; 2-5 Loss of initial vowel; 6-20 various vowel changes of *a*; 21-39. various vowel changes of *ā*; ² 40-53. of *i*; 54-61.-of *ī*; 62-70.-of *u*; 71-78.-of *ū*. 79-97.-of *ṛ* (with exceptions etc.); 98.-of *ṛr*; 99-100.-of *e*; 101-107.-of *ai*; 108-12.-of *o*; 113-15.- of *au*; 116-17 a general rule about *ai* and *au* with exceptions; 118-27 some contraction and substitutes.

I. iii. Sūtras 1-148.

1-2. General rules as to the droppping of intervocalic consonants; 3. Nasalisation of *m*; 4. Exception about *p*; 5. Yaśruti; 6-16. Changes of gutturals etc.; 17-18. Changes of palatals; 19-27. Changes of cerebrals; 28-50. Changes of dentals; 51-64. Changes of labials; 65-82. Changes of *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v*; 83-88 General rule about sibilants with exception; 89-92 Loss of medial consonants; 93-148 Prakrit equivalents of some Skr. words.

I. iv. Sūtras 1-127

Treatment of Conjuncts. 1 [Conjuncts that change to *k*. 2-7 Conjuncts that change to *kh*; 8-11—to *ṭh*, and *th* with exceptions; 12.—to *g* or *ṅg*; 13-16—to *c* etc; 17-22.—to *ch*; 23-24—to *j* or *ñj*; 25-28—to *jh*; 29-30. Conjuncts that change to *t*; 31-32.—to *ṇṭ* etc; 33-34 to *ḍ* 35.—to *nḍ*; 36-39,—to *ḍh*; 39-40.—to *ṇ*; 41-44.—to *th*; 45-47 Conjuncts that change to *p*; 48-50.—to *ph*; 51-54.—to *bh* etc.; 55-57.—to *m*. etc; 58-62. Conjuncts that change to *r* and the forms of *āscarya*: 63-64.—to *l*; 65.—to *ss*; 66-69.—to *h*; 70. Some

¹ Sanatana Jaina Grantha-Mala of Calcutta once intended to publish this work, so also the M. G. M. of Bombay; the latter however has not given up the idea as yet.

² Some times the Sūtras are not in order. and this is how Śubhacandra has followed *Tilvikrama* without any discrimination. Want of order in some places in T's grammar is due to the metrical nature of his Sūtras.

individual cases; 71-75. Conjuncts that change to *lh mh nh*; 76-78. Some special cases; 79-87. Loss of a particular member in a conjunct generalised and some exceptions given; 88-98. Doubling of consonants with exceptions; 99-114. Anaptyxis or simplification of conjuncts by inserting some vowel between the two members of a conjunct; 115-126. Cases of metathesis; 127. Notable irregularities collected.

II. i Sūtras 1-79.

1-31. Treatment of changes which the *taddhita* suffixes undergo in Prakrit; 32-79. *Avyaya* section.

II ii Sūtras 1-95.

Declensions. 1-10. General rules giving terminations. 11-20. Additional rules for nouns ending in *a*; 21-28. Additional rules for nouns ending in *i* and *u*; 29-30. Nom. and Acc. of neuter nouns ending in *a*, *i* and *u*; 31-42. Feminine nouns; 43-54. Nouns ending in *r*; 55-63. Nouns ending in consonants *rājan* and *Ātman*; 64-95. Pronouns.

II. iii. Sūtras 1-51.

1-14. Declension of *yusmat*; 15-29—of *asmat*; 30-34, Numerals; 35-45 substitution of cases; 46-51. A few general rules.

II. iv. Sūtras 1-128.

Conjugation. 1-10. Present tense terminations; 11-13.5*as*; 14-19. Causal; 20-25. Some *vikaraṇa* changes; 26-27. Passive 28-30. Past; 31. Potential; 32-40. Future; 41-44 Imperative; 45-46. Some special forms generalised; 47-50 Participles; 51-70. verbal changes before certain terminations; 71-78. General rules about vowel changes; 79-90 verbal changes; 91-128. *Dhātuvādeśas*.

III. i. Sūtras 1-175.

1-175. *Dhātuvādeśas* continued

III. ii. Sūtras 1-39.

1-12. *Dhātuvādeśas* continued; 13. A general rule about prepositions. ŚAURASENĪ. 14-21. Phonetic changes; 22-24 and 36. Declensions. 25. An exception. 26-27. Some verbal forms. 28-35. *avyayas*. 37-38 Conjugations. 39. A general rule.

III. iii. Sūtras 1-43.

MĀGADHĪ. 1-4. Declensions, 5-16, Phonetics; 17. A general rule. PAIŚĀCĪ. 18-27. Phonetic changes. 28. A special rule; 29-33. Declensions; 34-37. Conjugation; 38-39. General rules. CŪLIKĀ PAIŚĀCĪ 40-41. Phonetic changes; 42. An opinion of others; 43. A general rule.

III. iv. Sūtras 1-157.

APABHRAṂŚA. 1-7 [General phonetic changes; 8-17 Equivalents of some Sk. words and other processes. 18-19 Absolutive; 20-21. Infinitive; 22-85. Equivalents of *iva* etc. and other *ādeśas*; 86. Gender, 87-112. Declensions; 113-140 Pronouns; 141-147. Conjugation; 148-54. *Dhātuvādeśas* 155-157 General rules.

Trivikrama tells that his grammar is based on that of Hemacandra and others¹. Laksmīdhara speaks of Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Bhāmaha² as his authority. Śubhacandra does not mention any of his sources by name but he suggests that he has consulted many Prakrit grammars in composing his *Cintāmani* when he says,³ 'Laksanābhdhim vi-gāhya vai'.

And it is necessary to see as to who might have been his main sources. Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar is closely related with those of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. Hemacandra's grammar has always proved a milch-cow for later Prakrit grammarians and it is no wonder if Śubhacandra too has freely drawn on that source.

Though Trivikrama (T) closely follows Hemacandra (H) still his grammar is a decided improvement on that of H⁴ sometimes he changes the order of Sūtras, to some extent to suit the metrical form of his Sūtra-pātha. He introduces a convenient and concise terminology. In the commentary he gives more explanation and additional examples besides those given by H. and in all cases he supplies the Skr. renderings. Trivikrama has some independent Sūtras—no doubt sometimes the material for these Sūtras is present there in the commentary of H.⁵ T. gives a list of Deśī words in his grammar⁶ while this section forms an independent book of H.

1 प्राकृतरूपानि यथा प्राच्यैराहेमचन्द्रमाचर्यै ।

विवृतानि तथा तानि प्रतिबिम्बन्तिह सर्वाणि ॥ p. 3. Vizagapatam edition.

2 Introductory verses Nos. 16 & 22 of Śadbhaṣa Candikā (B. S. S.)

3 See appendix. B. No. 5 of *Praśasti*.

4 For a detailed comparison of the grammars of H and T, see, Dr. T. K. Laddu's 'Introduction to Trivikrama's Prakrit grammar' translated into English from German, in the *Annals B. O. R. I* Vol. X. iii-iv p. 206.

5 For instance I. iii. 14, 77, I. iv. 83, 107 and some other sūtras of T. are not traced in the Sūtrapātha of H. But however the material for these sūtras is present in H's commentary. See. H. I, 177; 254; I. 79 and II. 113 respectively.

6 I. iv 121.

Śubhacandra has many Sūtras common with H. To Hemacandra's material Śubhacandra makes very little substantial addition.¹ Śubhacandra generally follows the style of H. In his commentary and in many places even the wording is the same. In many cases Śubhacandra does not give the Skr. rendering of Prakrit portions and here he is in close agreement with H. Full quotations are not given by Śubhacandra as it is done by H², but he gives only that much portion which serves the purpose of illustration of a particular Sūtra—this is so even in Apabhramśa section. There are places where Śubhacandra appears to make some additions to H³ but all these additions are found in T. almost verbally.

Śubhacandra closely follows the order of T's sūtrapāṭha,⁴ the larger number of the Śubhacandra's sūtras can be explained away by pointing to that fact that Śubhacandra composes independent sūtras⁵ for matter which is included in the commentary by T. Following T. he came to have an independent terminology and it is this separate terminology⁶ that gives a different colouring to his sūtras. His pose of independence does not extend beyond the change of the order of words in a sūtra. T. always gives the Skr. rendering while Śubhacandra is very scarce in this function.⁷ Śubhacandra's Apabhramśa section is very poor as the quotations are not fully given. The exhaustive nature of T's commentary has not been maintained by Śubhacandra.

1 See appendix A where a complete section of Śubhacandra's grammar is given with the Sūtrapāṭha of H. and T. in footnotes which will help the readers to compare the different Sūtrapāṭhas.

2 For instance Śubhacandra has III iii. 40 thus.—

चुल्लिकाविशाच्या रो ल ।

Then follows the commentary चुल्लिकाविशाचिके रस्य लो वा भवति, गोलीचलन, हलं मूलाया. This might be compared with H. IV. 326 where he gives two full quotations from which Ś. selects a few words where *r* is changed to *l*.

3 There are many such sūtras which are not found in the Sūtrapāṭha of H. : but all these sūtras have their counter parts in T.—sometimes with slight changes, for instance Śubhacandra's सपाक्षिष. is not found in H's sūtras ; with T. the sūtra is सज्ञाक्षिष I. i. 33—however the material for this sūtra is found in H. under. II. 174.

4 That is clear from appendix A.

5 After the sūtra गोगाया I. iii. 104. Śubhacandra has 44 sūtras which are not found in the Sūtrapāṭha of T. but the material of all these sūtras is drawn from the commentary on गोगाया. I. iii. 105. of Trivikrama. There are some such other places.

6 See Appendix C.

From the above comparison it is quite clear that Śubhacandra has mechanically followed H. and T. and as such he has made very little contribution to the advancement of Prakritic studies. The independence of Śubhacandra's grammar if it can be called so consists mainly in changing the wordings of Sūtras¹, sometimes in changing the order, combining two sūtras into one², and in composing sūtras based on the matter that was included in the commentary by H. and T. Additional illustrations as such there are none.

When we first took up Śubhacandra's grammar for study we had high hopes that Śubhacandra might give us some peculiar forms of what Dr. Pischel calls Jaina Śauraseni. Certainly our expectations were justified since Śubhacandra, as a Digambara Bhattāraka, was expected to have studied all the works of Kundakunda, Devasena, Nemicaṇḍa³ and other Digambara Prakrit writers. He has himself written a Sk. commentary on Kartikeyānupreksā, a typical work in Jaina Śauraseni—however we are aware that he wrote this commentary after his completion of Cīṭnāmāni grammar. But our expectations are hardly fulfilled. If Śubhacandra desired to import something new, something original in his work there was every possible scope for him by way of adding fresh illustrations from Digambara Prakrit Literature which was practically left untouched by H.⁴ and only in portions utilized by T.⁵ He himself is the author of a Prakrit work called Angapannatti⁶ as the text appears to be printed from a single Ms. one hesitates to pass any remarks on its dialect. As it stands it shares the characteristics of both Mahārāstri and Śauraseni. According to

1 T. has स्वभादाविल् I. II. ii; in its place S. has इत्स्वजनदिः—this is no change at all since *Vyajana* and *Swapna* belong to one and the same class which contains some ten words that change their first *a* to *i*.

2 For instance in अन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्याश्रुदो I. i. 25. Śubhacandra combines two sūtras of H. अन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्य I. II. and न श्रुदो. I. 12.

3 We do find the works of Nemicaṇḍa mentioned in the list of books studied by Śubhacandra.—See ante.

4 However in his treatment of Apabhrāṃśa he has used the Para. mappā-payāsu of Joindu. See. Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XII. ii p. 159.

5 श्रीविरसेनजिनसेनार्यादिवच पयोचिबूरात्कतिचित् ।
प्राकृतपदरत्नादि प्राकृतकृतिसुश्रूषणाय चिनोति ॥

In this verse he suggests that he has consulted and used the Prakrit works of Virasena and Jinasena, which, so far as our knowledge of Jaina Literature goes, might be none else than पवला & जयवला Prakrit commentaries on Siddhānta Sūtras.

6 Published in M. G. M. Vol XXI.



our conjecture this *Angapannatti* is composed later than the grammar only as an exercise to test his knowledge of Prakrit grammar. ¹

We can look at Śubhacandra's workmanship from another point of view. In many cases his Sūtras are more convenient and concise in form—an improvement on H. and T. too—because of the special terminology invented by him. His Sūtras will always find favour with students of Śāstric method of learning who prefer short Sūtras for memorising.

We have settled the period when Śubhacandra flourished and now it remains to see when he composed his *Cintāmani* grammar. In the colophon of his Prakrit grammar he speaks of himself as भट्टारकश्रीविजयकातिपद्मप्रकटनत्रैविद्याविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रावराचतायाम् indicating thereby, that he was occupying the Bhattāraka chair when he wrote the grammar. As to some limit of his Bhattāraka period we have remarked above that he was not on the chair in 1516 A. C. and he has composed this grammar before 1551 A. C. when the Pāṇḍava-purāṇa was composed and in whose Praśasti he mentions his grammar *Cintāmani*. Thus his grammar was written somewhere between 1516 A.C. and 1551 A.C. It is essential to settle the date more definitely, but, for want of material, we leave the point to better equipped scholars.

There is another Prakrit grammar, *Audārya Cintāmani* by name, composed by Śrutasāgara whose date is not quite definitely settled.² Dr. Bhandarkar³ refers his literary activities to about the year 1494 A. C. Peterson⁴ and following him Dr. Vidyabhushana⁵ have adopted the same view. Dr. Bhandarkar's date, though practically admissible requires further ratification in the light of isolated dates about the contemporaries of Śrutasāgara. Similarity in names of the grammars of Śubhacandra and Śrutasāgara, one calling his grammar *Cintāmani* and the other *Audārya Cintāmani*, raises a question as to the mutual relation of these two works. It would not be reasonable to pass any superficial remarks on the posteriority or priority of one or the other when we do not know the dates of their compositions

1 तप्पय-सवण-सत्तो तेविज्जो उहय-भासा-परिवेई ।

सुहचर्दा तेण इण इह्य सत्थ समासेण ॥

Angapannatti 52.

The title *Uchaya-bhāsa-pariveśi* is fitting only after his composition of a Prakrit grammar.

2 Introduction to M. G. M. XVII

3 Report on Search for Skr. Mss. 1883-84

4 IV. Report.

5 *Indian Logic* p. 285

definitely We compared the *Sūtrapāṭha*¹ of Śrutasāgara, with that of Śubhacandra but we do not find any striking similarities. Śrutasāgara's *Sūtrapāṭha* is nearer to that of Hemacandra and there are a few traces of Trivikrama's influence. Some definite conclusion can be arrived at after comparing the commentary of Śrutasāgara with those of Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Śubhacandra. Unfortunately Śrutasāgara's commentary is not within our reach. Mss. of Audārya Cintāmaṇi appear to be very rare,² and there is one at Karaṇja.³ (Sena Gana Jaina Mandira). S. P. V. Ranganatha Svami considered Śrutasāgara's work to be more extensive and explanatory than those of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. But Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi⁴ questions the superiority of Śrutasāgara's *Sūtras*. Śrutasāgara's grammar has six chapters and one peculiar point about his *Sūtras* is that he has not used any special *Samyñās* like Trivikrama and Śubhacandra. Śrutasāgara in his commentary on *Satpāhuḍa*⁵ quotes his own *Sūtras*.

In preparing this paper we have used two Mss. of Śubhacandra's grammar. One is complete, belonging to Pt. Appashastrī Udagaonkar, beautifully copied by himself from some (?) North Indian Ms. Excepting some Prakrit portions the Ms. is tolerably correct and Panditji has put some cross references in foot notes. This Ms. has been our main guide. The other is incomplete. It is the press copy, prepared from Idar Ms. for publication in the Sanatana Jaina Granthamala. It contains many scribal mistakes. Portions of the first Adhyāya from this Ms. have been very beautifully recopied by Pt. Becharadas, the learned Prakritist of Gujarat Vidyapitha. The whole Ms. (presscopy) is finished with footnotes giving mainly the Skr. shade of Prakrit words. I got it from my friend Pt. Nathuram Premi of Bombay. I am very grateful to both Pts. Appashastrī and Premiji who sent their Mss. so readily for my study.

I am very thankful to Pt. Jugalakishore but for whose kindly suggestions and references I could not have made this paper so exhaustive. Lastly I wish to record my thanks to my pupil Mr. A. M. Ghatage who prepared for me the alphabetical index of Śubhacandra's *Sūtras*.

1 Of first three chapters only, printed in Vizagapattam

2 See Jaina Hitaishi XV p. 154

3 No. 7054 Catalogue of Skr. and Pkī Mss. in the C P, & Berar.

4 Śadbhāṣā-Candrikā, Introduction p. 7 footnote (B. S. S. LXXI)

5 M. G. M. Vol. XVII.

APPENDIX A.

III'. ii.

14 अथ² शौरसेन्यां तस्याक्तेर्दोऽनादौ ।

शौरसेन्यामनादेरसंयुक्तस्य स्वरात्परस्य तस्य दो भवति, माणुसादौ, दवादे, एदा आ । अक्तेरिति किं ? मत्तो, गच्छन्ति । अनादौ किं ? तथा, तस्स ॥ १४ ॥

15 काप्यधः³ ।

शौरसेन्यां वेर्णान्तरस्याधो वर्तमानस्य तस्य दो भवति, क्वचिह्लक्षणानुरोधान्, अनेउरं, अंदेउरं । निश्चिन्तः=निश्चितो, निश्चिदो । महान्=महंतो, महंदो ॥ १५ ॥

16 वा⁴ तावत्त्यादौ ।

शौरसेन्यां तावच्छब्दस्यादेस्तस्य दो वाऽस्ति; दाव, ताव ॥ १६ ॥

17 थो⁵ धः ।

शौरसेन्यामक्तेरनादेस्थस्य धो वाऽस्ति; राजपधो, राजपहो । नाथः = णाहो, णाधो । कथयति = कहेदि, कधेदि । कथं = कहं, कधं । अनादौ किं ? थेओ, थामं । अक्तेः किं ? सत्थो तिथं, रिथं ॥ १७ ॥

18 ह⁶ इह-हचोः ।

शौरसेन्यां ' इह-हचोः ' हस्य धो वाऽस्ति; इह, इध । होह, होध । परित्तायह, परित्तायध = परित्रायध्वे परित्रायधे वा ॥ १८ ॥

19 भो⁷ भुवः ।

शौरसेन्यां भुवो हस्य भो वाऽस्ति; होदि, भोदि । हुवादि, भुवदि । हवादि, भवादि ॥ १९ ॥

20 अन्त्याद्येति⁸ भो णः ।

शौरसेन्यामन्त्यादकारात्परस्य मस्य णो वा भवति इकारे एकारे च परे । युक्तमिदं = जुत्ताणिमं, जुत्तमिणं । सट्शमिदं = सरिसणिमं, सरिसमिणं । किमिदं = किणेदं किमेदं । एवमिदं = एवणेदं, एवमेदं ॥ २० ॥

1 Here we have given below for comparison parallel sūtras from the grammars of Hemacandīa (H.) and Trivikrama (T.)

2 H तो दोऽनादौ शौरसेन्यामयुक्तस्य IV. 260.

T. दस्तस्य शौरसेन्यामखावचोस्ते. III ii. 1.

3 H. अव कचित्. IV. 261; T. सयोगेऽव. कचित् III ii 2.

4 H वादेस्तावति. IV. 262, T. त वति खेर्वा. III. ii. 3 (खु According to T. means आदि.)

5 H थो ध. IV. 267; T थो ध ii. 4.

6 H. इहहचोर्हस्य. 268; T. इहहचोर्हस्य. ii. 5

7 H. भुवो भः 269, T. भुवो भः ii. 6.

8 H. मोन्त्याणो वेदेतो. 279 while T. has अन्त्यादिदेति भोगः ii. 7.

21 यो¹ द्यः ।

शौरसेन्यां द्यस्य द्यो भवति; अद्यउत्त, अज्जपुत्तो । पय्याउलो, पज्जाउलो सुद्यो, सुज्जो । कय्यपरवसो, कज्जपरवसो ।

22 धाविनो² नस्याः ।

शौरसेन्या इनो नकारस्य आ वा भवति संवुद्धो परे; भोस्तपस्विन् = भो तव-स्तिआ, भो तवस्ति । भो मणस्तिआ, भो मणस्ति । हे सुखिन् = हे सुहिआ, हे सुहि । भोः कञ्चुकिन् — भो कञ्चुइआ, भो कञ्चुइ ॥ २२ ॥

23 मः³ ।

शौरसेन्यां संवुद्धौ नस्य मो वाऽस्ति; भो सुकम्मं, भो सुकम्म । भगवन् = भय-वं । भो रायं । पक्षे, अंतेआरि ॥ २३ ॥

24 भवद्भगवन्मघवत्त्वं⁴ ।

शौरसेन्यां भवदादीनां सौ परे नस्य मो भवति, एत्थभवं हिदएण चित्तिदि । एतु भवान् = एदु भवं । जिणो भगवान् = जिणो भयवं । मघवं पागसासणो । चकारः संबोधननिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ २४ ॥

25 पुरवः⁵ पूर्वस्य वा ।

शौरसेन्यां पूर्वस्य पुरवो वाऽस्ति, अपुरवागदं, अपुव्वागदं ॥ २५ ॥

26 क्तवो⁶ दूणेयौ ।

शौरसेन्यां क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य दूण-इयो वा स्तः, पडिदूण, पडिय । भोदूण, भविय होदूण, हविय । पक्षे, भोत्ता, पडित्ता, रंता रंदूण, रमिय ॥ २६ ॥

27 कृ-गमो⁷ डडुअः ।

शौरसेन्यां कृ-गमोः क्त्वा-प्रत्ययस्य डडुओ वाऽस्ति, कडुअ, करिदूण, करिय । गडुअ, गच्छिदूण, गच्छिय ॥ २७ ॥

28 दाणिमिदानीं⁸ प्राकृते च ।

शौरसेन्यां प्राकृते च इदानीमः दाणिं भवति, दाणिं भणादि । प्राकृते, धम्मं दाणिं भणामि ॥ २८ ॥

29 तस्मात्ता⁹ ।

शौरसेन्यां तस्मात्ता भवति, ता अलं । ता जाओ ॥ २९ ॥

1 H. न वा यो द्यः 266; T. यो द्यः ii. 8.

2 H. आ आमन्त्रे सौ वेनो नः 263. T. आत् सावामन्त्रे इनो नः ii. 21.

3 H. मो वा 264; T. म ii. 22.

4 H. भवद्भगवतो, 265; T. भवताम् ii. 23.

5 H. पूर्वस्य पुरव, 270; T. पूर्वस्य पुरव ii. 9.

6 H. क्तव इय-दूणो, 271; T. इयदूणो क्तव ii. 10.

7 H. कृ-गमो डडुअः, 272; T. कृ-गमो डडुअः ii. 11.

8 H. इदानीमो दाणिं. 277; T. इदानीमिदं दाणिं ii. 12.

9 H. तस्मात्ता, 278; T. तस्मात्ता ii. 13.

30 णं¹ नन्वर्थे ।

शौरसेन्यां नन्वर्थे णं निपात्यते, णं भवं मे अग्नदो चलदि । णं अफलोदयो भागवदो धम्मो । वाक्यालंकारे च, यदा ननु = जया णं । तदा ननु = तथा णं । णमोत्थु णं णिग्गंथाणं ॥ ३० ॥

31 हर्षेऽम्महे² ।

शौरसेन्यां हर्षेऽर्थे अम्महे निपात्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

32 विदूषके³ च हीही ।

विदूषके आनन्दे च हीही प्रयोज्यः, हीही भो संपन्ना दे मणोरथा ॥ ३२ ॥

33 विस्मये⁴ -निर्वेदयोर्हीमाणहे ।

शौरसेन्यां निर्वेदे विस्मये च हीमाणहे निपान्यः । निर्वेदे, हीमाणहे पलिस्सता विस्मये, हीमाणहे सदोसो वि देवो ।

34 ट्येवैवार्थे⁵ ।

शौरसेन्यामेवार्थे ट्येव प्रयोज्यः, सो ट्येव एसो । मम ट्येव मणस्स ॥ ३४ ॥

35 हंजे दास्याह्वाने⁶ ।

शौरसेन्यां दास्यामन्त्रणे हंजे निपात्यः, हंजे दुरुदिदे ॥ ३५ ॥

36 डसेरात्⁷ दुदोप् ।

शौरसेन्यां अकारान्तात्परस्य डसेर्दुप् दोप् स्याताम् । पिच्चात्पूर्वस्य दीर्घः; धम्मादु, धम्मादो ॥ ३६ ॥

37 स्सिर्भविष्यति⁸ ।

शौरसेन्यां भविष्यत्यर्थे प्रत्यये परे स्सिर्भवति, भविस्सिदि, करिस्सिदि, गच्छिस्सिदि हि-हा-स्सानामपवादः । होस्सिमि, होस्सिम, होस्सिमो, होस्सिमु ॥ ३७ ॥

38 दट् इचेचोः⁹ ।

तिबादीनामिच् एच् स्थाने दडागमो भवति । टित्त्वादादौ । गच्छदि गच्छदे, । रमादि रमदे, हसदि हसदे; अच्छदि अच्छदे, होदि भोदि, उच्चदि ।

1 H. ण नन्वर्थे 283; T. ण नन्वर्थे ii. 14.

2 H. अम्महे हर्षे, 284, T. अम्महे हर्षे ii. 15.

3 H. हीही विदूषकस्य, 285; T. हीही विदूषके ii. 16.

4 H. ही प्राणहे विस्मय-निर्वेदे, 282, T. हीमाणहे निर्वेदविस्मये ii. 17.

5 H. एवार्थे ट्येव 280; T. एवार्थे ट्येव (V. L. एव) ii. 18

6 H. हंजे चेट्याह्वाने, 281. T. हंजे चेट्याह्वाने ii. 19

दुष्ट उदित वचन स्या सा

7 H. अतो डसेडादो-डादू, 276, T. अतो डसेर्दुदोश् ii. 20.

8 H. भविष्यति स्सिः 275. T. भविष्यति स्सि ii. 24.

9 H. दिरेचोः 273; T. इजेचोर्दट् ii. 25.

39 प्राकृतवच्छेपेम्¹ ।

इह शौरसेन्यां यत्कार्यमुक्तं ततोऽन्यत् प्राकृतवद्वचति, अंदावेदी, जुवदिजणो, मणसिला । मेऽन्योन्यं दिहौ (I. i. 18.) इत्यारभ्य शौरसेन्यां तस्याक्तेर्दोऽनादौ (III. ii. 14) इति पर्यन्तं लक्ष्यानुसारेण कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

इति श्रीत्रैविद्यविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वोपज्ञशब्दचिन्ता-
मणिवृत्तौ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादः ।

APPENDIX. B.

The opening verse of Subhacandra's grammar:—

श्री ज्ञानभूषणं देवं परमात्मानमव्ययम् ।
प्रणम्य बालसद्बुधैः वक्ष्ये प्राकृतलक्षणम् ॥
* * * *

The Prasasti and the colophon at the end:—

अथ ग्रन्थकर्तुः प्रशस्तिः

श्रीमूलसङ्घे शिवसाधुसङ्घे

श्रीकुन्दकुन्दान्वयपद्मसूर्यः ।

निरस्तमोहः सकलादिकीर्तिः

जीयात्सदा श्रीभुवनादिकीर्तिः ॥ १ ॥

तत्पट्टपद्मे रविवद्विभाति

विभासुरो भोगभवारिमेदी ।

श्रीज्ञानभूषो नरलोकलोकयो

लोकायलोकोत्तमलोकनेच्छः ॥ २ ॥

विजयकीर्तिपतिर्जगतां गुरुः

गरिमगीर्गदिताङ्गिगणो गणी ।

गिरति गां गुणिनो गतयेऽग्रणीः

सुगुरुणा रविगुः समगुः समः ॥ ३ ॥

षट्कर्कचञ्चुचरणोद्धतवादिमत्त-

मातङ्गकुम्भमदभेदनपञ्चतुण्डः ।

श्रीमच्छुभेन्दुगणपो गुणगेयकीर्ति-

श्रिन्तामणिं विशदशब्दमयं चकार ॥ ४ ॥

शुभचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रेण लक्षणाब्धिं विगाह्य वै ।

प्राकृतं लक्षणं चक्रे शब्दचिन्तामणिः स्फुटम् ॥ ५ ॥

1. H शेष प्राकृतवत् 286. T. शेष प्राकृतवद् ii. 26.

शब्दचिन्तामणि धीमान् योऽध्येति धृतिसिद्धये ।

प्राकृतानां सुशब्दानां पारं याति मुनिश्रितम् ॥ ६ ॥

प्राकृतं लक्षणं रम्यं शुभचन्द्रेण भाषितम् ।

योऽध्येति वै सुशब्दार्थधनराजो भवेन्नरः ॥ ७ ॥

इति श्रीमुमुक्षुभट्टारकश्रीज्ञानभूषणपट्टोदयाचलद्युमणिसकलतार्किकचूडामणि-
भट्टारकश्रीविजयकीर्तिपट्टप्रकटनत्रौविद्याविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वे-
पज्ञशब्दचिन्तामणिवृत्तौ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

* * * *

A verse at the close of III. iii

भाषापञ्चकसद्भाष्या शुभचन्द्रेण सूरिणा ।

शब्दचिन्तामणौ नूनं विहिता शब्दसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

* * * *

A Verse at the end of III. iv.

यदुक्तं सूत्रतन्त्रेस्मिन् शब्दचिन्तामणौ स्फुटम् ।

विचार्य बुद्धिसंस्थित्यै शुभचन्द्रेण सूरिणा ॥ २ ॥

APPENDIX C.

Opening Sūtras of Śubhacandra's grammar: Sūtras giving terminology of abbreviations are included here.

I i.

१ सिद्धिः शेषस्य लोकात् । २ अनुक्तं संस्कृतलक्षणवत् । ३ आद्योऽन्येन संज्ञा ।
४ सः समानः । ५ ह्रस्वो हः । ६ दीर्घो दिः । ७ श-य-साः सिः । ८ स्वः सवर्णः ।
९ मः समासः । १० द्वितीयो द्विः । ११ संयुक्तं किः । १२ लिति प्रायो न विकल्पः ।
१३ पिति दीर्घः । १४ कित् सानुनासिकम् । १५ प्राकृतम् ।

AN ATTACK ON ŚRĪ MADHVĀCĀRYA IN THE SAURA PURĀṆA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA B. A. (Hons).

It is a well-known fact that the Sāṃkhya, Śaiva, Buddhist and Advaita systems have been polemised upon to a greater or a lesser extent in the Purāṇas. The early Sāṃkhya dealt with in the *Vedānta-Sūtras* was atheistic; the Śaiva heretical; the Buddhistic system anti-Vedic. The Advaita was suspected of hidden sympathies with Buddhism, from very early times and the close doctrinal correspondence between the two ought to have been the subject of general discussion and comment after the period of the Renaissance of Hinduism under the Guptas the upshot of which was the visualisation of the Advaita as a dangerous cult by at least one section of the enlightened thinkers. A philosophical explanation of the early suspicion against the Advaita which later on developed into an open hostility, may perhaps be sought in the intellectual aversion of the Brahmins to Buddhism which was too complete and unsparing to brook even the slightest hint or suspicion of its condonation at their own hands. That this note of disapprobation was sufficiently pronounced from very early days¹ is seen from the over-anxiety of Gauḍapāda himself to refute the allegation of doctrinal identity between Buddhism and Advaita brought forward in his own days: नैतद्वद्वेन भाषितं (iv-99), on which Śaṅkara comments:—यद्यपि बाह्यार्थनिराकरणं ज्ञानमात्रकल्पना च अद्वयवस्तु सामीप्यमुक्तं इदं तु परमार्थतत्त्वमद्वैतं वेदान्तेष्वेव विज्ञेयमिति । Ānandagiri brings out the full significance of this remark: मतान्तरे तु नैवमिति कुतो मतसांकर्यशंका अवकाशमासादयेदिति ॥

That there existed a close doctrinal identity between the two systems is borne out by responsible writers on Indian Philosophy as well:—

“ Gauḍapāda's liberal views enabled him to accept doctrines associated with Buddhism and adjust them to Advaita design.”²

1. cf. विज्ञानवादस्य भवन्मतात्किं विभेदकं ब्रूहि ततः परं वज्र ।

विज्ञानवादी क्षणिकत्वमेषामङ्गीचकोरति महान्विशेषः ॥

Śaṅkara Vijaya.

cf. also सौगतब्रह्मवादिनोरयं विशेषः यदादिमः

सर्वस्य मिथ्यात्वं वदति । द्वितीयस्तु आत्मन्यथा ।

Advaita Brahma Siddhi, Bibliotheca Indica p. 105

2. *Indian Philosophy*, vol ii., S. Radhakrishnan. p. 453.

"The fourth chapter refers to Yogācāra views and mentions the name of Buddha half a dozen times.

"Indeed, the language and thought of the Kārikās of Gauḍa-pāda bear a striking resemblance to Mādhyamaka writings¹ and contains many illustrations used in them.²

"He seems to have been *conscious of the similarity* of his system to some phases of Buddhistic thought. *He therefore protests rather overmuch that his view is not Buddhism.*³

"That Gauḍāpāda gives a vedāntic adaptation of the Buddhistic Śūnyavāda is supported by many scholars such as Jacobi, Poussin, Sukthankar and Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya. *Unfortunately, Śaṅkara explains away all obvious references to Buddhism.*"⁴ (Italics mine).

"His (Śaṅkara's) Brahman was very much like the Śūnya of Nāgārjuna. It is difficult indeed, to distinguish between pure being and pure non-being as a category.⁵ There seems to be much truth in the accusation against Śaṅkara, by Vijñāna Bhikṣu and others, that he was a hidden Buddhist himself."⁶

The charge of crypto-Buddhism levelled against the Advaita in the *Padmapurāṇa*,⁷ the *Bṛahad-Brahma Samhitā*⁸ etc., was no new one; and the passages in these Purāṇas need on no account be looked upon as interpolations, of interested parties. They are a record—and for aught we know—the earliest record of emphatic public opinion against the Advaita doctrines. Rāmānuja,⁹ Madhva, Vallabha,¹⁰ and Vijñāna Bhikṣu¹¹ have all expressed and echoed the charge of crypto-Buddhism in their works. And so far as I am aware, Madhva alone has given a reason—

1. cf. अवैदिकं माध्यमिकं निरस्तं निरीक्ष्य तत्पक्षस्तुपक्षपाती ।

तमेव पक्षं प्रतिपादकोऽसौ न्यरूपपन्मार्गमिहातुरूपम् ॥

(Madhvaviṇaya I, 50)

2. Radhakrishnan, p. 453.

3. *Ibid* p. 463.

4. *Ibid* p. 465.

5. cf. असत्यदेसन्सदसद्विविक्तं मायास्वयया संवृतिमभ्यधत् ।

ब्रह्माण्यखण्डं बत शून्यं सिध्यै प्रच्छन्नबौद्धोद्यमतं प्रसिद्धः ।

Madhva Viṇaya i. 51.

6. Das Gupta · *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I pp 493-4

7. Quoted by Vijñāna Bhikṣu in his *Śāṅkhya-Pravacana Bhāṣya*.

8. iv-8.

9. *Vedārtha Saṁgraha*, Pandit pp 86.

10. Benares Sanskrit Series p 577-8.

11. *Śāṅkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya*.

ed exposition of the charge by citing ancient Buddhistic texts and comparing them with Advaitic texts, in his *Tattvodyota*. The complaint against the Advaita is thus historically sound and logically understandable.

The Dvaita System of Madhva has not been the target of any Purāṇic criticism such as has been bestowed on the Advaita. But as ill-luck would have it, the existence of uncomplimentary criticism against the Advaita in the *Padma Purāṇa* and the *Brahma Samuhitā* seems to have actuated the perverse ingenuity of some disgruntled monistic Pandit into interpolating a certain number of verses into the *Saura Purāṇa* criticising the System of Madhva, calumniating him and defaming his personality. These passages are sometimes jubilantly referred to by a set of people on certain occasions when sound reason and mother wit desert them in their controversial excursions. I propose therefore to undertake in the course of this article, a searching examination of the two chapters in the *Saura purāṇa* in which the criticisms against Madhva and his system are urged and expose their historical hollowness and metaphysical untenability.

Prof. M. Winternitz,¹ who mentions that "three chapters (38-40) are devoted to polemics against the system of Madhva" also draws attention to the fact that "chapters 38-40 do not occur in all the manuscripts²" and opines that "it is more probable that they have been interpolated."³

The Editors of the Ānandāśrama Series (in which the *Saura Purāṇa* is published) confess in a foot-note that the three chapters in question are not found in the Mss. designated क, ख, घ, and ङ. Since in four out of the nine mss. collated by the Editors the chapters in question are missing it is only reasonable to conclude that they have been interpolated in the others to judge from the obvious and avowed Advaitic bias⁴ of the verses occurring there. The entire secret is betrayed by a clumsy

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Tr. by Mrs. Ketkar, Calcutta, 1927- p. 536.

2. Sanskrit Edn. p. 125 note and Eggeling, *India Office Cat.*, vi p. 1188.

3. Cf. Jahn, l c, p. xiv (Ibid).

cf. 4. मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं वदित्येति नराधमाः

तेषां वर्शनमात्रेण सचैलं ज्ञानमाचरेत् । (chap. 39)

मिथ्याभूतः प्रपञ्चोऽयं मायानिमित्त इष्यते ।

मायावादिन इत्येते वस्तुतस्तत्त्ववादिनः ॥ (chap. 40.)

statement of the Editors that “ in one among the four mss. which omit the three chapters is found a *marginal-note* to the effect that three chapters following the 37th and dealing with the story of Madhva have been hushed up and deleted by Vaisnavas which are however to be found in other mss.” This is entirely awkward. The owner of the mss. would most reasonably have included the three missing chapters instead of indicating the deficiency to posterity by a mere marginal note! At all events, his statement that particular chapters have been suppressed by Vaisnavas can have no historical value. Of the four mss. which omit the three chapters in question one is dated 1741 Samvat,—a date which is sufficiently early compared with the rest some of which belong to quite a late date.

I shall now quote *in extenso* from the *Saura Puārṇa* to enable the readers to follow the discussion closely:—

घोरे कलियुगे प्राप्ते म्लेच्छैर्व्याप्ते भुवस्थले ॥ ३८ ॥

तदान्धदिशमध्ये तु दाक्षिणात्यो भविष्यति ॥

ब्राह्मणो दुर्भगः कश्चिद्विधवाब्राह्मणीरतः ॥ ३९ ॥

तस्य पापिष्ठविप्रस्य व्यभिचारात्सुतोऽनघः ॥

भविष्यति गुणान्वेषी देवादध्ययनोत्सुकः ॥ ४० ॥

पद्मपादुकमाचार्यं वरं वेदान्तवादिनं ॥

अद्वैतागमबोद्धारं प्रणम्य प्रार्थयिष्यति ॥ ४१ ॥

विप्रोहं मधुशर्मास्मि स्वामिन्मां पाठय प्रभो ॥ ४२ ॥

आचार्यः करुणामूर्तिः विनयेन परिपुतं ॥ ४३ ॥

* * * *

एकदा गुरुणा दृष्टः स्नानसंध्यादिकाः क्रियाः ।

अरुत्वा भोजनप्रेप्सुः भविष्यति निराह्निकः ॥ ४५ ॥

* * * *

ततो वक्ष्यत्यथाचार्यः कस्ते तात प्रसूश्रका ॥ ४७ ॥

वद् मातामहः कस्ते येन प्राप्ता प्रसूस्तव ॥ ४८ ॥

इत्येवं कथिते सर्वे कथयिष्यति तत्त्वतः ॥ ४९ ॥

शापं दास्यत्यथाचार्यः सिद्धान्तो मा स्फुरत्वयं ॥

सिद्धान्ते जडता तेऽस्तु परमद्वैतदर्शने ॥ ५० ॥

पश्चाद्गदिष्यति स्वामी पूर्वपक्षोऽस्तु ते दृढः ॥ ५२ ॥

* * * *

तथातथायमुन्मार्गः शिवद्वेष्टुर्भविष्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

पूर्वं तु द्राविडाद्वेशात्कर्णाटकतिलिङ्गयोः ।

शनैर्गोदावरीतीरे प्रसृतोयं भविष्यति ॥ ५५ ॥

पूर्णे कलियुगे प्राप्ते आर्यावर्ते चालिष्यति ॥

मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं वदिष्यन्ति नराधमाः ॥ ५६ ॥

तेषां दर्शनमात्रेण सचैलं स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ ५७ ॥

* * * *

(Chap. 39).

ततः कलियुगे प्राप्ते सर्वधर्मविवर्जिते ॥ ३१ ॥

* * * *

तदा वसन्तः कर्णाटतिलंगादिकदूषकः ।

मधुनामा च विधवाक्षेत्रे विप्राद्रविष्यति ॥ ३३ ॥

गोलकः स तु पापिष्ठः पद्मपादुकमीश्वरं ।

वेदान्तव्याख्यानरतं शिष्यत्वेनार्चयिष्यति ॥ ३४ ॥

शास्त्रं पूर्णं ततोधीत्य स्थित आह्निकवर्जितः ।

किमभिहोत्रं को योगः हेतुमेवं करिष्यति ॥ ३५ ॥

गुरुराकर्ण्य तद्वाक्यं ब्राह्मणो न भवेदयं ।

इति निश्चित्य तं दुष्टं वक्ष्यति श्रुततद्वचाः ॥ ३६ ॥

* * * *

मधुनामा ततः प्राप्य शापं तं दुष्टबुद्धिमान् ।

बादरायणसूत्राणां व्याख्यानं स करिष्यति ॥ ४६ ॥

मध्वाचार्यः ततोभावाद्वाक्षिणात्यो महान्कलौ ।

तच्छिष्याः प्रतिशिष्याश्च नार्यावर्ते न चोत्कले ॥ ४७ ॥

न गौडे न च गङ्गागयास्तीरे गोदावरीतटे ।

नारुंदारण्यमध्ये च तत्प्रचारो भविष्यति ॥ ४८ ॥

यथायथाकलेधोरः प्रचारोहि भविष्यति ।

तथातथा महाराष्ट्रे हेतुका विरलाः क्वचित् ॥ ४९ ॥

पञ्चवर्षस्तु संन्यासी पठित्वा दुष्टबुद्धिमान् ।

शिष्योपशिष्यसंयुक्तः हेतुवादं करिष्यति ॥ ५१ ॥

तत्त्वं संसार इत्येव न बाध्यः सत्य एव हि ।

वदत्यतस्तत्त्ववादी मिथ्यावादी स उच्यते ॥ ५२ ॥

मिथ्याभूतः प्रपञ्चोयं मायानिर्मित इष्यते ।

मायावादिन इत्येते वस्तुतः तत्त्ववादिनः ॥ ५३ ॥

* * * *

आचार्यं मधुनामानं वदन्तो विधवास्तुतं ॥ ६० ॥

प्रच्छन्नोसौ महादुष्टः चार्वाको मधुसंज्ञकः ।

भविष्यति कलौ विप्राः शिवनिन्दाप्रवर्तकः ॥ ६१ ॥

* * * *

(Chap. 40)

There is some variation between the accounts contained in chapters 39 and 40. The account in the former makes out that Madhu Śarmā (mark the name), was born in the *midst of the Andhra country*, as the illegitimate son of a Brahman widow. He sought *Padmapāda* as his preceptor in Advaita and read under him. Once, he was detected by the teacher while eating without having bathed or performed his ablutions. The teacher demanded a clear confession of his parentage etc., and the offender came out with a clear confession. Thereupon, the preceptor cursed him saying that he would be good at *pūrvapakṣa* only and leave his *Siddhānta* undeveloped.

The second account (chap. 40) repeats all the above details and adds that Madhu was the incarnation of Vasanta—a companion of Rati who agreed to help her to wreak vengeance on Śiva for his cruel disposal of her husband, by incarnating himself and promulgating a system of philosophy repudiating the supremacy of Śiva and inculcating his hatred.

The second account is a clumsy failure at an attempt to supply certain missing links—the motive of the incarnation of Madhu, and his identification with Vasanta. Another additional information which this chapter furnishes is in the shape of a Purāṇic prophecy that no followers of Madhu will be left in *Āryāvarta*, *Utkal*, *Bengal* and the *Godāvarī Delta*—a prophecy which is as sweeping as it is false to facts. And curiously enough there is a glaring contradiction between the prophecy in chapter 39 and the one in chapter 40. In the former we read that “ gradually the religion of Madhva will spread to the banks of the *Godāvarī* and when the fulness of *Kali* age is reached, it

will spread in Āryāvarta.”¹ In chapter 40 however we are told that “no followers of Madhva will be found on the banks of the Godāvari and in Āryāvarta!”² What opinion one can have of the sanity of such a prophecy and its maker it is for the readers to judge.

Such is the laborious “criticism” against Madhva and his system, contained in the *Saura Purāṇa*. Now, we shall examine the charges in some detail.

To judge from the most outrageous of historical and biographical blunders that the account bristles with one can unhesitatingly conclude that far from being an authentic Purāṇic version, the entire account is the interpolation of an ignorant and incorrigible Pandit. One wonders who the interpolator’s informant was when one is told that Madhva was born in the “midst of the Āndhra country!”³ There is, moreover, no proof at all that Madhva is polemised upon. Else, a nasty mistake must be admitted to have been committed by the interpolator in regard to the name of Madhva. He is designated in three different ways: Madhu, Madhu-Śarmā and Madhvācārya. It is clear that the account considers ‘Madhu’ as the proper name. Apart from the fact that ‘Madhva’ itself was not the name given to the Ācārya either by his parents or by his preceptor at initiation it must be pointed out that there is no earthly connection whatsoever between ‘Madhu’ and ‘Madhva:’ and so no good ground to indentify the two as is done in chapter 40. Śrī Madhva was named Ānandatīrtha⁴ by his preceptor at the time of initiation into holy order and ‘Madhva’ is a synonym assumed by the Ācārya.⁵ He was named by his parents Vāsudeva and one can

1. Chap. 39, verses 55, 56,

2. Chap. 40, verses 47--48,

3. Cf. तदानीं देशमध्ये तु दाक्षिणात्यो भविष्यति ॥ Again कर्णाटतिलगादिकदूषकः The fact, however, is that the real Madhvācārya was born neither in the *Andhra* nor in the *Karnāṭaka* country but in the Tulu country! Some ill-informed writers think that Madhva was a Canarese Brahman. But this is simply a blunder. Madhva was a Tulu Brahman.

4. आनन्दतीर्थेति पदं गुरुदत्तं बभूव तन्मात्यनुरूपरूपकम् ।

(*Madhva-Vijaya* १-2)

5. मध्वित्यानन्द उद्दिष्टः वेति तीर्थसुदृढतं ।

मध्व आनन्दतीर्थः स्यात्तृतीया मारुतीतनुः ॥

(Comm. on Chāndogya Up.)

wonder till eternity how he could have addressed himself to his preceptor¹ by a name which he had not yet come to possess! In any case, there is not even the ghost of a suggestion in the *Saura Parāṇa* that 'Madhva' is regarded as the substantive and proper name of the person polemised upon. The account deals with Madhu, Madhu-śarmā or at the worst Ācārya Madhu and Śrī Madhvācārya is quite beyond its jurisdiction.

The attempt to illegitimize Madhva is a sorry spectacle opposed alike to historical testimony and tradition. Śrī Madhva's father was a well-known personality² in the village of Pājaka-ksetra (S. Canara district)—not in the "midst of Āndhra country" as the Purāṇic interpolator would have us believe—a statement which is as stupid and vague as it can be. He was held in high esteem by the villagers and was only spoken of as Madhyageha-bhaṭṭa—'resident of the midmost mansion'³—(Naḍu-vantillayya in Tulu). Śrī Madhva's parents would not easily permit his renunciation and he had to wait till the birth of a second son to his parents. The biography of Madhva, written by his younger contemporary, relates how the Ācārya's brother too joined the holy order after the demise of his parents. The biography thus makes clear that the parents of Madhva were alive for more than thirty years after his renunciation. In the face of so much recorded evidence the statement that he was the son of a widow through illegitimate means is matched for absurdity of invention only by the other one of his pupillage under Padmapāda (and perhaps also of his nativity in the "midst of Āndhradeśa").

The Purāṇic prophecy further states that Madhva renounced the world at the age of five⁴! Apart from the fact that he could not even have been initiated into vedic studentship (उपनयन) at so tender an age, it is clear from the life-history of the Ācārya that he must have been well-nigh 16 years old when he applied

1. cf. विप्रोहं मधुशर्मास्मि स्वामिन्मा पाठय प्रभो ।

2. विज्ञातभारतपुराणमहारहस्यं ये भट्ट इत्यभिबदन्ति जना विनीतम् ।

Madhva Vijaya ii 14.

3. Śrī Madhva was also known by the epithet Madhyamandira—which was originally applied to his father. This epithet also means resident of the middle house and the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is sadly mistaken in introducing a novel epithet Madhyamandāra which he renders into "the wish-giving tree of the family of Madhya," *Vaiṣṇavism* Strassburg, 1913, p. 58.

4. पञ्चवर्षस्तु संन्यासी पठित्वा दुष्टबुद्धिमान् । 40-51.

or permission to renounce.¹ He had to persuade his parents, argue with them and ultimately force their consent. The cārya's father was most naturally unwilling to lose his only son, since he had nobody else, he pleaded, to look after him and his wife in their old age² —which implies that Madhva was in the fullness of youth just then and his father was even, resumably, planning for his marriage in the near future. All this is a veritable impossibility in the case of a boy of five.

The name of Śrī Madhva's preceptor under whom he studied Advaitic works such as the *Iṣṭa—Siddhi*³ and Acyutaprekṣa.⁴ The *Saura Purāṇa* makes Padmapāda, the preceptor of Madhva. But historically there seems to have elapsed something like three centuries between Padmapāda and Madhva and any tutorial connection between the two is a human and a physical impossibility !

A few words about the alleged constructive incapacity of Madhva which is attributed to the curse of Padmapāda. The opinion here expressed that Madhva is more a critic than a thinker is not really different from a recent estimate of Madhva dumbrated by a certain *soi disant* authority that Madhva is a "philosophical pugilist" and his system a "philosophical pugilism !" Both rest on an insufficient and scrappy understanding of the system. As one who came after great intellectual giants like Śaṅkara, Padmapāda, Vācaspati and Rāmānuja Madhva had necessarily to devote his immediate and undivided attention to a refutation of the views of his predecessors. Nor had he merely to deal with Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. Tradition has it that he had twenty—one earlier commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* to deal with.

1. C. N. Krishnasvami Ayer thinks that Madhva was twenty-five at his renunciation, which is objected to by C. M. Padmanabhačārya on very reasonable grounds. The latter author thinks that eleven or twelve was the age at which the Ācārya renounced. Personally, I think the Ācārya might have been well-nigh sixteen, when he renounced the world.

2. निवर्तमाने नहि पालकोस्ति नौ त्वयिति वक्तारममुं सुतोऽब्रवीत् ।
(*Madhva Vijaya* iv-22)

3. अथेष्टसिद्धिच्छलजतिवारिधिःनिराद्रेणापि महात्मनामुन[†]
तदाद्यप्यस्थमवयमण्डलं यदावद्वोदशकद्वयात्मकम्
(*Madhva-vijaya* iv-45).

4. जनोच्युतप्रेक्षमुदाहरत्स्फुटम् ।
(*Madhva Vijaya* iv-6).

Demolition precedes construction and Madhva demolished his opponents before erecting a new citadel of his own—in doing which he was merely acting up to the usual procedure of Indian System-builders: ‘उपपादनं च स्वपक्षसाधनपरपक्ष-निराकरणाय भवति ।’ The Advaita came up for a full measure of his criticism since it was the fashionable philosophy of the times. Out of the thirty-seven works of Madhva, only four deal directly and mainly with the Advaita. It is therefore quite untrue to say that Madhva was at all cynical in his attitude towards the Advaita or was entirely preoccupied with criticising it. On the contrary, his activities were truly many-sided. He was not simply a destructive genius, a *Vaitandika* or a philosophical pugilist. The following clear classification of Madhva's works would give an idea of his many-sided activities:—

1. Vedic literature : a commentary on the first forty hymns of the R̥gveda.
2. Upanisadic literature : Commentaries on the ten upanishads.
3. Sūtra literature : the Bhāṣya, Anu—Bhāṣya, Anu—Vyākhyāna, and Nyāya—Vivarana.
4. Gītā-literature : two commentaries on the Gītā.
5. Ten Prakaranas : four dealing mainly with Advaita: Upādhi Khaṇḍana, Māyāvāda—Khaṇḍana, Mithyātva-anumāna—Khaṇḍana, and Tattvodyota; Pramāṇa—Lakṣaṇa and Kathālakṣaṇa dealing with Logic and Dialectics; manuals devoted to a constructive exposition of Dvaita: Tattva Samkhyāna, Tattva Viveka, and Viṣṇu Tattva Nirṇaya and also the Karma Nirṇaya.
6. Epic literature:—a metrical synopsis of the Mahābhārata and a commentary on the Śrī Bhāgavata.
7. Poems:—a poem called Yamaka Bhārata.
8. Works of Worship:—Tantra Sāra, Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava.
9. Works on Conduct:—Sadācāra-Smṛti. Yatipranavakalpa.
10. Devotional Hymns:—Dvādaśa Stotra, Nakhaṣṭotra. and Jayanti—nirṇaya.

Apart from the great commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras, and the Gītā, Madhva gave a constructive exposition of his system in short manuals devoted to that purpose. Credit goes

to Madhva for having neglected no part of the valuable heritage of Hinduism. While Śamkara would dismiss the entire Karma Kāṇḍa as barren and make invidious distinction between commonplace *śrutis* and mahāvākyas, reject the Pāncarātra and mystifyingly speak of the 'philosophy of the Upanisads' *par excellence* Madhva accepts the entire body of Hindu religious literature as authoritative:—

ऋग्यजुः सामाथर्वाश्च मूलरामायणं तथा ।
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च शास्त्रमित्यभिधायेत ॥
यच्चानुकूलमेतस्य तच्च शास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितं ।
अतोऽन्यो ग्रन्थविस्तारो नैव शास्त्रं कुर्वन् तत्² ॥

The religious and devotional aspect of life was specially stressed by Madhva in separate works (see class 9 and 10)—thus laying firm and lasting foundation of religion, morality, devotion and austerity. Seeing that only four out of his thirty-seven works deal directly with Advaita, while many of the rest are devoted to a constructive exposition of his system and others to miscellaneous matters, the charge of lack of constructive work and undue criticism of Advaita are entirely misplaced.

The existence of the Dvaita as an independent system had (in days prior to Madhva) long been threatened and a severe persecution of the Saints of the creed was set on foot by the Advaitins in ascendancy; so much so that Dvaita teachers like Prājñatīrtha and his followers had literally to masquerade³ in the guise of Advaitic hermits and appoint two successors one ostensibly following the Advaita teaching and the other entrusted with the ancient teaching of Dvaita which he was to propagate undetected by the Advaitins. An account of this persecution is preserved to us in the *Maṇimañjarī*⁴, a poem by the biographer of Madhva. The advent of Madhva was there-

1. *Advaita Siddhi*, p. 1.

2. Quoted from the *Skāṇḍa* in Madhva's *Sūtra-Bhāṣya*.

3. शिष्येष्वेकः श्रुतीनां ते संप्रदायाभिपुत्रये ।
चरतां मायिभिः सार्धं तेषां छन्दानुवर्तने ॥
संन्यासयेत्स निपुणमेकं वशधरं द्विजं ।
सौप्यन्यमन्यं सोपीति वंशो न स्यादखण्डित ॥

(*Maṇimañjarī*)

4. Chap. 8.

fore of great relief to the faithful. Henceforth they could practise their religion in public and breathe freely. Heaven knows what a great boon it was deemed, in days when religion was a vital concern of life.

Madhva had to define and illustrate the categories of logic eschewing what was unessential in the traditional system of the Logicians. He had also put new vigour into the religious and moral life of his followers, by erecting a new temple at Udipi and making it the meeting place of his followers from various parts thus fostering a sense of brotherhood among them and by introducing healthy reforms such as the abolition of bloody sacrifices and the substitution of flour ewes instead of live animals in sacrifices—a practice which is still followed by his religionists and the enforcement of fasts on Ekādaśī days. He had in short, evolved a new and compact community and saw it growing under his eyes, slowly and steadily.

But he had to arm his followers in self-defence. Those were days of religious controversy and debates. The feeling of religion ran high in men's minds and they were prepared to stake everything for it. The veterans of Advaita were only too glad to meet the men of the new faith and if possible, to nip them in the bud. Logic and learning, wit and eloquence were at their command and they had a fair chance of success. Madhva had realised this himself for he too had had encounters with several rivals and old veterans more especially with the then head of the Śringerī Matha. The only hope lay in educating his followers in the arts of debate and discussion and enable them to hold their own against the onslaughts of Advaitins. It is no exaggeration to say that his hopes were more than fulfilled. We have only to cite the illustrious names of Jayatīrtha, Vyāsarāja Svāmin, and Vijayindra Tīrtha who rose to defend the citadel of their Master in troubled times. And where were their arms forged? In the furnace of Śrī Madhva's works.

If Madhva had thus to devote, what may now seem to us, an undue attention to a criticism of rival schools and to the intricacies of Logic, it was more as a necessity of the times and in self-defence. Logic and criticism as such had no attraction for Madhva, and he warns¹ his followers against having too much

1. न चानुमानस्य नियतप्रामाण्यं ॥
सर्वत्र शक्यते कर्तुमगमं हि विनानुमा ।
तस्मान्न सा शक्तिमती विनागमसुदीक्षितुं ॥
शुष्कतर्कं तु वर्जयेदिति कोर्मै ॥

Madhva on Vedānta Sūtra i, 1, 3.

to do with either. Ignorance of the exact state of philosophical and polemical atmosphere during and before the times of Madhva as well as a failure to realise the magnitude of Madhva's mission are alone responsible for the wild criticism urged in certain quarters that Madhva was a friend of the Naiyāyikas, or the other one urged by the Pandit-interpolator in the *Saura Purāṇa* that he was a Sophist (हेतुक)¹ and above all for the sapient comment emanating from a recent writer on Indian Philosophy that "Madhva makes a *clever use* of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines."² (Italics mine).

The original motive of the supposed incarnation of Madhu is claimed to be to spread the hatred³ of Śiva; and Madhva is falsely accused⁴ of spreading the hatred of Śiva. But it needs no serious effort to establish that Madhva was not a bigot. True it is that he resolutely maintains the supremacy of Viṣṇu and regards him as the creator. But in this respect he is not the only sinner ! The doctrine of the supremacy of Viṣṇu is directly traceable to the brightest epoch of Vedic speculation, from whence it found its way into the epics and thence into the Purāṇas. And in advocating the supremacy of Viṣṇu, Madhva is merely voicing forth the united testimony⁵ of the entire religious literature of the Hindus.

1 पञ्चवर्षन्तु सन्यासी हेतुवादं कारिदानी ॥

It is a well-known fact that the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* has clearly repudiated the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tenets. Some Oriental Scholars believe that the Nyāya is not dealt with in the *Sūtras*. Madhva however takes the *Sūtra*

अपरिग्रहाच्चाल्यन्तमनपेक्षा ii, 2, 17,

as a conclusive repudiation of Nyāya system. He writes.

श्रुतिस्मृत्यपरिग्रहीतत्वाच्च अनिगयेन अनपेक्ष्यता

and quotes the famous lament of the jackal from the *Bhārata*

अहमास पाण्डितको हतुको वेदनिन्दक

आन्वीक्षिकीतर्कवियामनुरक्तो निरर्थकः

In the face of such an unequivocal repudiation of Nyāya the charge against Madhva that he was a sophist हेतुक is entirely ludicrous.

2 *Indian Philosophy* Vol ii, p. 738. (S. Radhakrishnan)

3 भविष्यामो वयं नाथ रुद्रपूजाभिनिन्दकः । chap 40, 23.

4 प्रच्छन्नोसौ महादृष्टः शिवनिन्दाप्रवर्तकः । Ibid 61

5 वेदे रामायणे चैव पुराणे भारते तथा ।

आदावन्ते च मध्ये च विष्णु सर्वत्र गीयते ॥

(*Harivamśa*) quoted by Madhva. The same is quoted by Śaṅkara also in his *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*.

cf also ब्रह्मा स्वययुश्चतुराननो वा रुद्रस्त्रिनेत्रास्त्रिपुरान्तको ।

इन्द्रो महेन्द्रः सुरनाथको वा व्रातुं न शक्ता युधि रामवर्धनं ॥

Rāmāyaṇa v

Oriental scholars, pursuing the historical method, have also endorsed the supremacy of Visnu in their own way. Visnu is pre-eminently an Āryan god. Śiva, who is known to the Rg-veda only under the name of Rudra, has many repellent qualities which more probably than not, suggest his aboriginal origin. The opinion is held by many responsible orientalist that Rudra is a later accretion to the Vedic Pantheon. The association of phallic worship with Rudra is claimed to be another sign of his aboriginal Dravidian origin ; and the uncomplimentary references to Rudra explained on the admission of the probability of the alien origin of that deity to whom the Āryans were at first averse.

Without invoking the aid of comparative and historical religious research, every unbiassed student of Indian religious literature will see that Visnu is the supreme deity of the Hindu Pantheon. Earnest enquirers are some times discomfited by the testimony of the Purāṇas not being uniform. An historical explanation of this contradiction may be offered on the lines indicated by Max Müller in regard to the early speculations of Vedic seers, by resorting to the henotheistic or Kathenotheistic standpoint.

The difficulty was present also to the minds of indigenous writers and philosophers and the Purāṇas themselves suggest a way out of the difficulty from a purely religious point of view. It would be presumptuous on our part to dismiss this explanation as a Purāṇic fiction unworthy of credence. Even granting that it is so, one must nevertheless admit a fundamental postulate of Monotheism at its back. The Purāṇic explanation is that though Visnu is the Supreme God, other deities are sometimes held up to delude the demoniac and the ungodly and mislead them:—

एष मोहं सृजाम्याशु योजनान्मोहविष्यति ।
 त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशस्त्राणि कारय ॥
 अतश्चयानि वितश्चयानि दर्शयस्व महाभुज ।
 प्रकाशं कुरु चात्मानमप्रकाशं च मां कुरु¹ ॥

(*Vārāha*)

One may or may not agree with this explanation. But the fact remains that it has been accepted as a suitable solution by several

1. Quoted by Madhva, in his Comm on *Vedānta Sūtra* ii, 1,1.

indigenous philosophers¹ in India, including Madhva, who quotes the relevant passages from the *Varāha Purāṇa*.²

Madhva is not the only apostle of the doctrine of the supremacy of Viṣṇu. He is one among the many. The Ālvārs of S. India, Yāmuna, Rāmānuja, Kūranārāyaṇa,³ Vedānta Deśika, Vallabha, Caitanya and Baladeva have all maintained the unchallengeable supremacy of Viṣṇu. The Advaitins themselves form no exception. Śamkara⁴ Sureśvara⁵ Sarvajñātma⁶, Madhusūdana⁷, Śrīdhara, Brahmānanda have all regarded Viṣṇu as the Īśvara of Advaita—the lower Brahman. If those who have advocated the supremacy of Viṣṇu are to be put down as the avatārs of Madhu volunteering to wreak vengeance on Rudra, we should find more than a dozen avatāras of Vasanta (Madhu)!! And it is not clear why Śrī Madhva alone should be selected for the honor! Genuine Advaitism has no quarter to give to either Śiva or Viṣṇu. Such being the case, it is quite understandable how the three chapters in the *Saura Purāṇa* whose Advaitic bias and predilections are all but concealed,⁸ can reasonably

1. Rāmānuja, *Vedārtha-Saṃgraha*, Pandit Reprints. p. 181-6. cf also बौद्धेन वैदिकपथजुषां परमनास्तिकानां भ्रात्र्यादिजन्मभिरवतीर्णानां दैत्यानां, धर्मवतां विनाशो न स्यादिति विरुद्धप्रतिपत्तिजनकं शास्त्रमारचितमिति पुराणिनिहासेषु प्रसिद्धं । अन्यथा भगवतोऽसंबद्धप्रलापित्वमयुक्तं इति दिक्—

Sadānanda, *Advaita Brahma Siddhi* Bibliotheca Indica, 105-6 p. and अत. येदेवांशः तेषां विष्णुपुत्रा स्वधर्मः ये च दैत्यांशः तेषां शिवभक्तिरिति स्फुटानि-
Puruṣottama, *Avatāra Vādāvali*, Devakīnandanācārya Grantha Mālā Series, 2 p 192. See also p. 225 ibid.

2 The suggestion made in some quarters that Madhva has fabricated these passages is to be spurned with the contempt that it deserves since the same passages have been quoted by Vallabha, in his *Anubhāṣya*

3. Whose eyes were put out by a Cola King of the South, for refusing to acknowledge Śiva as the Supreme Deity.

4. जीवात्मभूतब्रह्मविषयत्वेपि विष्णुपदस्य तैरेव शिवपदमपहाय बासुदेवपदेन व्याख्या-
नात् जीवात्मभूतब्रह्मणो बासुदेवरूपत्वस्यैव तदभिप्रेतत्वात् ॥

Puruṣottama, *Vādāvali*.

5. स्वानिलाभ्यव्यरित्र्यंतं स्रक्फणीवोद्धतं यतः ।

ध्वान्तच्छिदे नमस्तस्मै हरये बुद्धिसाक्षिणे ॥

Naishkarmya Siddhi.

6. अतिनिष्कटमविक्रियं मुरारेः परमपदं प्रणयादभिरुचीमि ।

Samkṣepa Śāriraka.

7. मोक्षं प्राप्त इव स्वयं विजयते विष्णुः विकल्पोऽङ्गितः

Advaita Siddhi.

cf. also कृष्णात्परं तत्त्वमहं न जनि । (Ibid).

8 cf. ch 39 Verses 56-7, and chap 40 verse 53.

take umbrage at Madhva's denial of the supremacy of Śiva and invent a silly story of Rati's penance etc. This again amply proves that the Pandit—interpolator was thoroughly ignorant of the fundamental position of Advaita which he nevertheless blindly adores.

The statement that Madhva incited hatred of Śiva is as stupid as unjust. Madhva was no bigot who forbade the worship of Śiva. He has his own place in the hierarchy of gods according to Madhva, only Rudra is not at the head of it. In strict conformity with his rigorous Monotheism, Madhva believes in Viṣṇu alone as the Supreme Brahman¹ and creator (जगत्कारण); who has neither peer nor superior.² It is in this sense that he interprets the famous text एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म । Hatred of Śiva has no place in the system of Madhva. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, the biographer of Madhva has himself left us a poem in praise of Śiva.³ And Vyāsātīrtha, the famous author of the *Nyāyāmṛta* has also left one.⁴ The practice of boycotting Śiva temples obtains only among the followers of Rāmānuja. A Tamil saying is current still among them that one i. e., a faithful Rāmānujite must not take refuge in a Śiva temple even if an elephant is after him and his life itself is in danger! Madhva himself in his own days paid visits to the shrines of Benares and Rameśvaram. To the last day of his life, he continued to hold his classes within the temple of Anantesvara at Udipi.⁵ Vādirāja Svāmin, who undertook a grand tour, has left us hymns in praise of the various Śiva temples of India. While the followers of Rāmānuja would on no account make pilgrimages to Rameśvara or enter a Śiva temple under the worst calamities even, the followers of Madhva have always maintained a healthy attitude of religious toleration and catholicity. Even today a special service is conducted at the Matha of Śrī Vyāsārāja Svāmin, on the night of Mahāśivarātri. Thus, the indictment against Madhva that he incited hatred of Śiva is entirely baseless.

1. ब्रह्मशब्दस्तु विष्णवेव ।

2. नास्ति नारायणसमं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।

इति सत्यवाक्येन सर्वार्थान्साधयाम्यहं ॥

(*Bhārata*)

न त्वत्समोऽस्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यः ।

(*Gītā*)

3. *Śiva Stuti* Belgaum, Śaka 1803.

4. *Laghu Śiva Stuti*, Belgaum, 1803.

5. An enclosure marks the place, today, at the temple of Anantesvar.

6. *Tīrtha Prabandha* of Vādirāja.

The story of the penance of Rati's friends to wreak vengeance on Rudra, related and interpolated in the *Saura Purāṇa* cannot really bear investigation. Apart from the novelty of the episode which is not found in any other Purāṇa, it is an insult to the ideal womanliness of Rati to ever conceive of her as attempting to retaliate¹ against Rudra, leaguering herself with Madhu for that purpose and accepting the latter's offer of help in the manner related. The character and personality of Rati disclosed to us in the Purāṇic legends and recorded by the Prince of Indian Poets, Kālidāsa, is the *beau idéal* of a woman and wife. Rati, as everyone who has read the *Kumāra Sambhava* knows, piteously bemoans the loss of her husband. Her companions, notably Vasanta himself, console her. An ethereal voice predicts reunion at a later date, 'when Śiva is delighted after his marriage with Pārvati.²' Rati retires with a pacified heart³ and patiently but eagerly awaits⁴ the wedding of Pārvati. She has no reason to bear ill-will or malice towards Rudra. Such a disposition is entirely unbecoming a lady of the type of Rati. And above all, the Pandit-interpolator in his eagerness to concoct a story with all his misplaced ingenuity, has most pathetically failed to realise or foresee that the slightest misdemeanour or attempt at open revolt or instigation of revolt against Rudra by Rati would have worsened her case and estranged her from Rudra on whose future good graces depended the prospect of her reunion with her husband. Woman as she was, Rati could not have been foolish enough to catch a Tartar in Rudra or attempt to double-cross him—the verdict of the Pandit-interpolator not withstanding ! The story of Rati's vengeance thus stands utterly disowned and discredited both by logic and commonsense.

1. गतिरुवाच । मन्यते वातक सर्वलोकैः ऽपूज्यो भवेद्यम् ।
तत्र विष्णुः प्रकृत्यो येन केनापि हेतुना ॥
अस्यापकीर्तिर्विकृतव्या न चलेयादि किंचन ।
तेन मे दुःखशान्तिः स्यात्किंचिन्मात्रं न चान्यथा ॥
(chap 40 Verses 13-14)
2. परिणेश्यति पार्वतीं यदा तपसा तत्प्रवर्णीकृतो हरः ।
उपलब्धस्तुखस्तदा स्मरं वपुषा स्वेन समग्रयिष्यति ॥
Kumāra Sambhava iv, 42)
3. इत्थं रते किमपि भूतमदृश्यकल्पं
मन्त्रीचकार मरणव्यवसायबुद्धि । Ibid iv, 45.
4. अथमदनवधुरूपप्लवन्तं
व्यसनकृशा प्रतिपालयावभूव । Ibid, iv, 46.

The character of Vasanta himself, such as we know him from the legends and from Kālidāsa, is not such as to warrant his readiness to engage in any sort of unholy campaign against Rudra, for the mere love of his friend. It is too much to exploit Vasanta's friendship for Kāma, for purposes of inventing a silly story vilifying a great religious teacher and philosopher of India !

Thus the entire episode in the *Saura Purāṇa* abounds in blunders of historical detail and artistic conception. The interpolator is a fourth-rate Pandit ignorant alike of history, geography, tradition, art, proportion and philosophy ! His only qualification is his prejudice against Madhva, which is responsible for the miserable performance he has bequeathed to humanity.

But for the spasmodic attempts in certain quarters to point exultingly to the episode in the *Saura Purāṇa* when a more courageous course of polemics could not be faced and the rather at first-sight misleading statement in an accredited history of Sanskrit Literature that " in the *Saura Purāṇa* three chapters are devoted to polemics against the system of Madhva," the present writer would not have undertaken a serious examination of the two chapters in the said *Purāṇa* and exposed the hollowness of their criticisms and the puerility of their inventions.

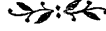
It is hoped that enough has been said to enable scholars and critics to form a just and deserving estimate of the interpolated chapters in the *Saura Purāṇa*.

BUDDHIST LOGIC
(AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY)

BY

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Logic in India is commonly associated with the names of Gautama and Gaṅgeśa, followed by a host of commentators and sub-commentators. The Nyāya-Sūtra of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, the Vārttika of Uddyotakara and the Tātparyatikā of Vācaspati and some other sub-commentaries constitute what is generally designated as the old school of Indian Logic. The Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa with its innumerable commentaries and sub-commentaries is the basis of the modern school of Indian Logic (*Navya Nyāya*). A closer study of Indian Literature would show that not only these two but all the different schools of Indian Philosophy, both orthodox and heterodox, have developed logics of their own in consonance with their distinctive metaphysics. Even some of the technical sciences, such as medicine (*āyurveda*) and politics (*arthaśāstra*) have discussed problems of logic.¹ In this connection it may be pointed out that a complete philosophical system must have a logic of its own, for unless we have a definite criterion of truth or an apparatus for testing our knowledge, we cannot have a fully reasoned and correct knowledge of the world and our relation with it, which may be regarded as the main problem of philosophy. Every Indian system has therefore thought it necessary to discuss the problem of pramāṇa (right cognition and its methods) as indispensable prolegomenon and the dictum, *mānādhīnā meyasiddhiḥ* (the objects of knowledge depend on the *pramāṇa* or the method of right cognition) has been accepted in

1. See Vidyabhushana: A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1921, p. 24 ff.

some form or other by all the schools.¹

Buddhist Logic which took its rise and developed along with Buddhist Philosophy has a peculiar interest for us. It has enormously influenced Brahmanic and Jaina logic. All the schools of Brahmanic philosophers, howsoever at variance among themselves, are singularly at one in attacking the theories of Buddhist Logic, though each has its own way of attack. The Jaina logicians have also directed their attack against the Buddhist logicians. Consequently the problems of Buddhist logic afford an interesting study not only for their own sake but also for the sake of the light they throw on the history of Indian logic as a whole. We, therefore, cannot neglect the Brahmanic and Jaina points of view in our study of Buddhist logic because the Brahmanic, Jain and Buddhist logicians carried on an unremitting and tough intellectual fight for several centuries.

Logic as an art or a method of argument had been resorted to by men long before any systematic speculation on logic began. The question is therefore not one of logic or no logic but one of developed logic or primitive logic. It was after the philosophical speculations were more or less crystallized that attention was directed towards logic as a separate science. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa if understood in this sense, is not far from truth when he

1. a *Prameyasiddhiḥ pramāṇāddhiḥ*. Sāṃkhyakārikā, 4.
- b *Pramāṇena prameyasopabādhāḥ*. Maitryupaniṣad. 6.14.
- c *Pramāṇanayābhyañam tattvārthādhigamaḥ*. Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra. 1. 1.
- d *Samyagjñānapūrvikā sarvapuruṣārthasiddhiḥ* Nyāyabindu 1. 1.

The utility and appropriateness of the discussion on the *pramāṇas* have been eloquently appreciated by Prof. Max Muller who in his preface to 'The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' (1912) observes as follows.:-

"Such an examination of the authorities of human knowledge (*Pramāṇas*) ought, of course, to form the introduction to every system of philosophy, and to have clearly seen this is, as it seems to me, a very high distinction of Indian Philosophy. How much useless controversy would have been avoided, particularly among Jewish, Mohamedan and Christian philosophers, if a proper place had been assigned in *Imane* to the question of what constitutes our legitimate or our only possible channels of knowledge, whether perception, inference, revelation or anything else." (Preface, xiii).

remarks that logic is coeval with the creation and the Vedas.¹

As the Vedas present no set philosophy, the Upanisads likewise are diffuse and figurative in their expressions. It is for this reason that the Upanisads to which the germs of all later philosophical thoughts can be definitely traced have little to say about logical problems.² But the debates and the discussions found in the Upanisads may be regarded as the anticipations of the logical system that followed.

Upanisads, though they encourage debates and discussions, declare that truths regarding Brahman are not obtainable by argumentation alone (*naisā tarkeṇa matir āpaneyā*).³ It is also to be noted in this connection that an approach to religion or metaphysics purely from the standpoint of reason, quite irrespective of the conclusion that may follow, is not much favoured in Brahmanic literature in general.

A doctrine, unless ratified by Vedic authority, can claim no place in the domain of Brahmanic thought. The Mahābhārata relates the story of a Brāhmana who on account of his being

1. Jayanta enters into a very interesting question as to the originator of the Nyāya Śāstra which undertakes to prove the validity of the Vedas (*vedaprāmāṇyāniścaya*). He argues as follows:—

If Nyāya is to prove the validity of the Vedas, how was the validity of the Vedas proved before Akṣapāda, the accredited author of the Nyāyāsūtra? This is a simple question. How was the meaning of the Vedas interpreted before Jaimini or the words derived before Pāṇini and the metres composed before Piṅgala? Since the primal creation these arts (*vidyā*) have begun like the Vedas. Akṣapāda, Jaimini, Pāṇini and Piṅgala are regarded as first teachers in Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Chandas respectively on the ground of their elaborating and systematizing what was originally implicit and not reflectively formulated. (*Nānvakṣapādāt pūrvam kuto vedaprāmāṇyāniścaya āsit atyālpam idam ucyate. Jaimineh pūrvam kena vedārtho vyākhyātah. Pāṇineh pūrvam kena padāni vyutpādītāni. Piṅgalāt pūrvam kena chandāmsi racitāni ādisargāt prabhrti vedavad imā vidyāḥ pravrttāḥ. Samkṣepaviistaravivakṣayā tu tāmstāmstatra tatā kartṛnācakṣate. Nyāyamañjarī, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, p. 5*) Jayanta thus maintains that the Nyāya system is coexistent with the Vedas.

2. For the roots of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines in the Upanisads, see Ranade's "A constructive survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy", p. 190. Also compare Prof. S. Radhakrishna's remarks about Nyāya logic in his Indian Philosophy, Vol. I (1923) p. 263

3. Kathopaniṣad, 1 2 9.

addicted to logic-chopping all through his life was born a jackal in his next birth.¹ According to Vyāsa, spiritual doctrines cannot be communicated to those made callous by dialectics (*tarkaśāstradagdhāya*).² Manu-Saṃhitā, though recommending Ānvīksikī (logic) as a useful and necessary study for a king and insisting on a *hetuka*'s and a *tarkin*'s being indispensable members of a legal assembly,³ enjoins excommunication upon those *dviḥjas* (twice-born class) who have become sceptics (*nāstika*) owing to recourse to *hetuśāstra* and set at defiance Śruti and Smṛti, the two recognised sources of religion.⁴ Manu urges that *dharma* is to be analysed by means of argumentation in conformity with the Vedas.⁵ Though there are several references to the necessity and usefulness of logic as well as debates and discussions, nowhere in Brahmanic literature is logic appraised at its full value. On the contrary, its importance has been emphasized, if at all, to prove things in concurrence with the beliefs and doctrines of the Vedas whose authority was commonly acknowledged to be one of the several means of right cognition (*āgama* or *śabda pramāṇa*) in the Brahmanical schools of philosophy.⁶

The Buddhists on the other hand did not accept the unquestionable authority of the Vedas and so could rely upon individual experience and rationalism in matters of religion and philosophy untrammelled by any code of set beliefs. The Buddhist philosophers sometimes stigmatise the Brahmanic thinkers as traditionists or unscrupulous followers of the Āgama

- 1 *aḥamāsam paṇḍitako haituko vedanindakaḥ
ānvīksikīm tarkavidyām anurakto nirarīhakām.
hetuśāstrān pravādītā vaktā samsatsu hetumat
ākrośtā cātivaktā ca brahmanvākyeṣu ca dvijān.
nāstikaḥ sarvaśaṅki ca mūrkhah paṇḍitamānikaḥ
tasyeyam phalanvṛtī śṛgālatvam mama dvija.
Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Adhyāya 180 Śloka 47-49.*
- 2 *na tarkaśāstradagdhāya tathaiiva pśunāya ca.
ibid., Adhyāya 246, Śloka 8 c-d.*
- 3 *traividyō hetukastarkī nairukto dharmapāthakaḥ
trayaścāśramīno pūrve parisad syād daśāvavā.
Manusamhitā, Adhyāya 12, Śloka 111.*
- 4 *yo' vamaneyeta te mule hetuśāstrāśrayād dvijaḥ
sa sādhubhīr bahuskāryō nāstiko vedanindakaḥ.
Manusamhitā, Adhyāya 2, Śloka 11.*
- 5 *āsam dharmopadeśam ca vedāśāstrāvirodhinā
yastarkenānusamdhatte sa dharmam veda netaṛaḥ.
Manusamhitā, Adhyāya, 12, Śloka 106.*
- 6 See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic pp 36-39

or the Vedas on account of the latter's adherence to the authority of the Vedas without any regard for reason.¹ Buddha lays emphasis upon individual experience and not infrequently he declares in express terms that the path to be adopted is what one oneself recognises as true. "Then, monks, what you have just said is only what you yourselves have recognised, what you yourselves have comperhended, what you yourselves have understood, is it not so?" "It is even so, Lord²". Though in the Suttas there are a few passages apparently denouncing logic and free thought they are to be understood in the light of the general tenor of the texts which so eloquently favour rationalistic and argumentative procedure. The doctrine of Buddha is known as *vbhajjavāda*, which according to competent authorities, is "Religion of Logic or Reason". Buddha calls his teaching *dhamma anittha*,³ not based on tradition (*na + itiha = anittha*), but self-confirmed. He is said to have admonished his followers on one occasion thus: "Do not accept, oh Bhiksus, my words out of any respect for me, but accept them for what they are worth after proper scrutiny, just as a piece of gold is accepted by an expert after it is put to fire, cut or tested on the touchstone."⁴ "No sentence," to quote Mrs. Rhys Davids, "occurs oftener than *Tam kissa hetu?* What is the reason of that?"⁵ in the *Pali Tripitaka*. This tendency of Buddhism to appeal to reason and argument accelerated the development of logic in the hands of the Buddhist

1 *ākṣapādakāṇḍāḥ prāhur āgamamātrakāḥ*,
Tattvasamgraha (Gaekwad's oriental Series) Kārikā, 548.
āgamamātrām apeta-yuktikam eṣām astityāgamamātrikāḥ
ibid, Pañjikā.

2 Majjhimanikāya, XXVIII.

The rationalistic aspect of Buddha's doctrine finds a brilliant exposition in George Grimm's "The Doctrine of the Buddha or the Religion of Reason," Leipzig 1926.

3 Sutta Nipāta, 1053—Niddesa II, 49, 151.

4 *tāpācchedācca nīkasāṭi suvarṇam iva paṇḍitaiḥ*
parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyam madvaco na tu gauravāt.

Tattvasamgraha, Kārikā, 3588.

The following is the Tibetan version of the above śloka:

bsregs bcad brdar bahi gser bzun du
mkhas pa rna'i s kyis yons brtags nas,
bdāg gsun blan bya dge slon dag
gus paḥi pḥyir ni ma yin no

The Grammar of the Tibetan language by CSoma DeKoras, p 168.

5. C. A. F. Rhys Davids Logic (Buddhist), Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, 132.

philosophers who took it up with all earnestness for the purpose of challenging the antagonistic views and vindicating their own

Buddhist literature generally falls into two divisions, Pali and Sanskrit. In Pali Buddhist literature there is not a single treatise devoted to Logic; nevertheless it gives very clear indications of current logical doctrines. As he figures in the Pali literature, Buddha is "a reasoner whose interlocutors are not his match; his weapons against them, beside his authority are analogy, simile, parable and an occasional trace of inductions by simple enumerations of cases."¹ We must also bear in mind in this connection that in the personality of Buddha the preacher and the philosopher blended together. While Buddha gave a rationalistic philosophy in an age of Upanisadic dogmatism, he had to deal with 'relatively immature minds', 'the man in the street' and "the average bhikkhu or sekha (learner in the order)." But any way the prevailing method of the Buddha in his replies to interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness'.²

The period of Pali Buddhism was rather one of criticism than of construction and it is not a matter of surprise that we do not find during this period any systematic study of logical principles. In the later period of Sanskrit Buddhism when the schism of the Buddhist Church resulted in the four principal schools of Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Sautrāntika and Vaibhāsika, every school for the purpose of opposing rival doctrines as well as vindicating its own, found it necessary to evolve logical methods of arguments and thus gradually there grew up a vast literature on logic which to our great misfortune, is now a mere catalogue of names. Excepting only a few, almost all the treatises on Buddhist Logic are lost. But some have providentially escaped utter destruction as they were translated into Tibetan or Chinese. The Japanese scholar Sadajiro Sugiura has given an account of the Buddhist logic in Chinese and Japanese in his work, "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan" (1900). Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushana's monumental work—History of Indian Logic, (1921), presents an elaborate account of the Buddhist Nyāya literature which was transported to Tibet and remains up till now, buried in its Tibetan translation.

Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu with the Nyāyabinduṭīkā (Bib Indica and Bib. Buddhica) is the only complete and comprehen-

1. Keith—Buddhist Philosophy, p. 303.

2. C A F. Rhys Davids—Logic (Buddhist) in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. p. 132.

sive work on Buddhist logic, that has survived in its original Sanskrit form. The Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts (Bib. Indica) edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Sastri discusses some interesting problems of logic. The Tattvasamgraha of Śāntaraksita with Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla (Gaekwad Oriental Series), an encyclopaedic Buddhist work, gives a comprehensive account of Buddhist logic. The Nyāyapraveśa, Part I (Sanskrit Text) and Part II (Tibetan Text) in the above series is an important manual of the Dinnāga's school of logic. The Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese sources by Professor Tucci in the same series has no doubt been a very valuable publication. His Nyāyamukha (translated into English from Chinese with critical notes), published in Jahrbuch des Instituts für Buddhismus-Kunde vol. 1. edited by Prof. Walleser is to be welcomed by all interested in Indian logic. The publication of a few more works on Buddhist logic has, however, been announced in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. But what we possess of the Buddhist Nyāya literature is insignificant in comparison with what has perished of it. Twenty one volumes of the Tanjur (from Vol. Ce to Vol. Re i. e. 290 to 310, Cordier), each about 400 leaves with 7 long lines on each side of a leaf, contain, with a few exceptions,¹ Tibetan translations of Buddhist logical treatises. The bibliography on Buddhistic logic in Chinese and Japanese as given by Dr. Sugiura in the appendix to his book already referred to is really of an enormous length.

Owing to these circumstances it is not as yet possible to write upon Buddhist logic with any approach to adequacy though with regard to the main problems we may say that we have sufficient data at our disposal. In our account of Buddhist logic we should make use of some important Buddhist logical texts in Tibetan besides those that are available in Sanskrit. The Brahmanic and Jaina criticisms of, and references to, the Buddhist logical doctrines should also be utilised as far as possible.

It is much to be regretted that Buddhist logic has in recent times scarcely received any attention of the orthodox Indian scholars of logic (Nyāya) who are occupied with the subtleties of the new school of Indian logic (*Navya-Nyāya*).

I. See Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 3: Note on Pustakapāṭhopya.

But it is worth noting that Buddhist logic has had greater influence upon *Navya-Nyāya* than the ancient Brahmanic logic. While Gautama introduces sixteen categories (*padārtha*), rather topics of discussion in his logical system (i. e. the *Nyāyasūtra*) the Buddhist logicians were restricted to one topic only, viz. *pramāṇa*. The *Navya-Naiyāyikas* also exclusively confined themselves to *pramāṇa* and discussions pertinent to it in their extensive and elaborate speculations in the field of logic. Gautama's *Nyāyasūtra* has no reference to *vyāpti* or the invariable concomitance between the probandum and the probans which is the pivot of inferential argument, though Vātsyāyana's suggestive remarks in his commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.39 are worth noting. All the subtle discussions on the invariable concomitance or *vyāpti* that have found a prominent place in the *Navya Nyāya* have, it appears, been profoundly influenced by the theories of inference as held by Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti.

It is to be noted in this connection that the erudite Brahmanic scholars like Uddyotakara, Vācaspati, Udayana and Pārthasārathi Miśra appear to have possessed a profound knowledge of Buddhist logic, which they exhibit in course of their criticism of the Buddhist doctrines.

The Jaina philosophers also took interest in Buddhist logic. Not only did they refer to the Buddhist views in their own works by way of criticism but they also sometimes wrote commentaries on the Buddhist logical treatises, e. g. Haribhadra's *Nyāyapraveśapañjikā* on the *Nyāyapraveśa* and Mallavādin's *Dharmottaratippanaka* (Bib. Buddhica) on the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* of Dharmottara. It deserves to be mentioned here that these commentaries along with the texts, *Nyāyapraveśa*, *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (with *Nyāyabindu*) and a few more texts of Buddhist logic that have survived in their original Sanskrit form, found refuge in Jain Bhandars, and but for the interest of the Jaina Philosophers in Buddhist logic they would have been lost and in that case would never have come down to us.

The great importance of Buddhist thought is that it gave an impetus to the development of the Brahmanic philosophy in general and logic in particular. And as a result of this the *Nyāya* doctrines developed by alternate criticism and correction. The *Nyāyasūtra* of Aksapāda and the *Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana show the influence of Buddhist critics like Nāgārjuna and refute some of their charges. Dinnāga then sets himself to criticizing

Brahmanic doctrines as those of Aksapāda and Vātsyāyana. To answer the objections of Dinnāga, urged against Aksapāda and Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara made an attempt to interpret elaborately the Nyāyasūtra of Aksapāda and the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana with all their implications. And again as Buddhist criticisms on Aksapāda and Vātsyāyana led Uddyotakara to write his Nyāyavārttika, Brahmanic criticism on Dinnāga similarly induced Dharmakīrti to write the Pramānavārttikakārikā, a metrical commentary upon the Pramānasamuccaya effecting all possible improvements in their own defence. Dharmakīrti was again answered by Vācaspati, the great Brahmanic philosopher and commentator. Dharmakīrti was succeeded by a number of Buddhist logicians like Devendrabodhi, Vinitadeva, Jinendrabodhi, Śāntiraksita, Dharmottara, Arcāṭa and Jetāri, many of whom wrote commentaries and sub-commentaries on the treatises of Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti and occasionally criticised Brahmanic writers like Kumārila and Vācaspati. But they did not possess much originality of thinking like the two masters: Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. Owing to these mutual conflicts and opposition Indian logic had the opportunity of developing by a process of alternate criticism and construction.

The continuity of Buddhist logic came up to about 1000 A. D. when the decline and fall of Buddhism in India sounded its death-knell. During this time with the revival of Brahmanism Brahmanic logic being tinctured with Buddhistic influence came to be studied over again and thus was laid the foundation of the new school of Brahmanic logic (*Navya Nyāya*) which flourished later on so luxuriantly in Mithila and Nadia.

The History of Logic in India presents three stages : the first stage, when dogmatic philosophy and authority reigned supreme and logic was thrown into the back-ground; the second stage, characterised by a rampant revolt against authority when logic was raised to the rank of philosophy and was on a par with it; and the third stage, when logic got the upper hand over philosophy and in a sense smothered it, but at last lost itself in its own groove. Buddhist logic, it is to be noted, belongs to the second stage.

MISCELLANEA
AN OLD PREFATORY GLOSS ON ISTOPADEŚA

BY
A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

इष्टोपदेश of पूज्यपाद is a work which needs no introduction to the students of Jaina Literature. It is a beautiful treatise of high elegance written in Skr. containing only 51 verses. आशाधर¹ the famous writer of the thirteenth century has written a lucid commentary in Sanskrit which is composed by him before 1223 A. D.—the year in which he completed his जिनयज्ञकल्प a huge work on Jaina ritual, in the प्रशस्ति of which he speaks of having already written a commentary on इष्टोपदेश. We do not know of any other Skr. commentary prior to that of आशाधर. Āśādharas' commentary is not without its merits: he has explained the text with all thoroughness and has given many quotations² from different works both in प्राकृत and Sk. to elucidate the contents of his text. This commentary with the text has been published in मा. ग्र. मा. Vol. XIII.

When one critically reads through the commentary of आशाधर he is faced with a queer phenomenon; there are some prose sentences already incorporated in the body of the commentary which have been recommended on by आशाधर. For instance a few may be noted here:—

- (i) अथ शिष्यः प्राह तर्हि व्रतादीनामानर्थक्यमिति । भगवन् यदि सुद्रव्या-
दिसामग्र्यां सत्यामेवायमात्मा स्वात्मानमुपलप्स्यते तर्हि व्रतानि हिंसादि-
विरत्यादीनि आद्यो येषां समित्यादीनां तेषां आनर्थक्यं निष्कलत्वं
स्यात् । p. 25.
- (ii) यदि स्वर्गेऽपि सुखमुत्कृष्टं किमपवर्गप्रार्थनयेति, भगवन् यदि चेत् स्वर्गेऽपि
न केवलमपवर्गे सुखमस्ति कीदृशं उत्कृष्टं मर्त्यादिसुखातिशयायि तर्हि
किं कार्यं कया अपवर्गस्य मोक्षस्य प्रार्थनया अपवर्गे मे भूयादित्यभि-
लाषेण । p. 28.
- (iii) पुद्गलेन किल संयोगस्तदपेक्षामरणाद्यस्तद्व्यथाः कथं परिह्रियन्त इति ।
पुद्गलेन देहात्मना मूर्तद्रव्येण किल आगमे श्रूयमाणो जीवस्य संबन्धोऽस्ति
तदपेक्षाश्च पुद्गलसंयोगनिमित्तं जीवस्य मरणाद्यो मृत्युरोगादयः संभ-
वन्ति । तद्यथा मरणादयः संभवन्ति मरणादिसंबन्धिन्यो बाधाः

1. Dr. Bhandarakars' Reports (1883-84) and Pt. Premis' विद्वद्भूषणमाला.
2. Except a dozen, all the quotations have been traced to their
sources; they are drawn from following works—

तत्त्वानुशासन, लघीयस्वयम्, पञ्चास्तिकाय, आत्मानुशासन, ज्ञानार्णव, समाविशतक, गोमटसार,
समयसारकलश, पुरुषार्थसिद्धयुपाय, &c.

कथं केन भावनाप्रकारेण मया परिद्वियन्ते । तदभिभवः कथं निवार्यते ।
p. 46.

When we look to the statements completed by or ending with the word इति in comparison with the following portion, it is quite clear that the इति—ending statements have been explained by आशाधर. Those statements cannot be ascribed to him; had they been his own, there is no reason why he should again explain them in the very fashion in which he is explaining the text of इष्टोपदेश. Once he notes a various reading in such a statement and deals at length with its meaning. For instance :

अथाह शिष्यः । अभ्यासः कथमिति । अभ्यासप्रयोगोपायप्रश्नोऽयं । अभ्यासः
कथयत इति क्वचित्पाठः । p. 50-51.

The admission of this various reading is a conclusive proof that these statements were there, before आशाधर, when he was writing his commentary.

As to the nature of these statements, seen in their sum total they are introductory remarks generally at the opening of each verse to establish the connection between the forthcoming verse and the preceding one. इष्टोपदेश is a structure of continuous arguments and these remarks supply the interlinks. Considering their value आशाधर has commented on these statements taking them to be a part of the text.

One more evidence on the point is supplied by a Kanarese commentary¹ on इष्टोपदेश. It appears to be sufficiently old and there are no traces in it that it is influenced by आशाधर's Sk. commentary. Though it cannot be definitely said that the Kanarese commentary is earlier than आशाधर, it is plain that आशाधर's commentary has not reached the hands of the Kanarese commentator. In the Kanarese commentary also the introductory remarks are there and they are verbally the same as those given by आशाधर. In one or two places आशाधर has digested the originals and reproduced them in his own words. These introductory remarks have been explained in the Kanarese commentary also. Thus both आशाधर and the K. commentary take these introductory remarks as an essential constituent of इष्टोपदेश text. If so, who is the author of these remarks ?

These remarks go to clear up the context of each verse and hence it is just imaginable that they too have been composed by पूज्यपाद himself along with the verses of इष्टोपदेश.

1. From श्रीलक्ष्मीसिनमत, Kolhapur.

AUTHORSHIP OF SVARŪPA-SAMBODHANA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.



स्वरूपसंबोधन is a short discourse on the Jaina concept of the soul and the path of Liberation, in conformity with the famous Jaina logic of seven-fold predication. As the title suggests and as the verse 22 runs thus,

‘आत्माक्षीने सुखे तात यत्नं किं न करिष्यसि’

it is imaginable that it might have been composed as an address to some elderly person.

This small treatise has been published in माणिकचंद ग्रंथमाला Vol. I. probably from a single Ms. The P. T. (Printed Text) contains twentyfive verses including the concluding verse which names the work as स्वरूपसंबोधनपञ्चविंशतिः. But we have come across a Ms.¹ with Kanarese commentary in which there are twenty-six verses. No doubt it is a पञ्चविंशतिः that does not mean there should not be twenty-six verses.¹ In calculating the number oftentimes the concluding verse is not included and there are many such instances. अव्यात्माष्टक² of वादिराज has got nine verses together with the concluding one; similarly द्वात्रिंशतिका³ of अमितगति has thirty-three verses. I am not unaware of the evidences to the contrary. मोक्षपञ्चशिका⁴ has only fifty verses including the last. It is to be remembered that the number twenty-six is not an improbable one in a work named पञ्चविंशतिः as the last verse is not included in the calculation. Moreover the additional verse of the Ms. fits in the context. It comes before number 21 of P. T. and runs thus:—

तथाऽप्यतीव तृष्णावान् हन्त मा भूस्त्वमात्मानि ।

यावत्तृष्णाप्रभूतिस्ते तावन्मोक्षं न यास्यासि ॥

Pt. Premi in his essay on अकलङ्क⁵, and the head line of the P. T. ascribe this short work to अकलङ्क, the famous Jaina Logician. Of course Pt. Premi must have had some Ms. evidence. Further विसल the author of सप्तमङ्गीतरङ्गिणी quotes the third verse of स्वरूपसंबोधन in this way:—

1. Belonging to श्रीलक्ष्मीसिनमठ Kolhapur.

2. Published in मा. ग्र. मा. XIII.

3. Ibid. XIII.

4. मा. ग्र. मा. XIII

5. Introduction to मा. ग्र. मा. Vol I.

१तदुक्तं भट्टकलङ्कदेवैः—

‘ प्रमेयत्वादिभिर्धर्मैरचिदात्मा चिदात्मकः

ज्ञानदर्शनतस्तस्माच्चेतनाऽचेतनात्मकः ’

Thus there appears to have been a tradition that अकलङ्क is the author of स्व. सं. But this tradition is strongly disputed and महासेन is the author of स्व. सं. The evidences are as below:—

(1) A Kanarese commentary² of स्व. सं., in its opening lines says quite definitely that महासेन, the disciple of नयसेन, composed स्व. सं.; the passage runs thus:—

श्रियः पतिं केवलबोधलोचनं
प्रणम्य प्रद्वप्रभवोदकारणं ।
करोमि कर्णाटगिरा प्रकाशनं
स्वरूपसंबोधनपंचविंशतेः ॥

श्रीमन्नयसेनपंडितदेवर शिष्यरूप्य श्रीमन्महासेनदेवः॥ भव्यसार्थसंबोधनार्थमागि
स्वरूपसंबोधनपंचविंशतित्यंब ग्रंथं माहुत्तमा ग्रंथं मोदलोऽ इष्टदेवतानमस्कारं
माडिदप्.

(2) पद्मप्रभमलधरिदेव in his commentary (तात्पर्यवृत्तिः) on नियमसार³ quotes some verses in this way :—

(a) ४उक्तं च षण्णवतिपापं डि विजयोपाजितविशालकीर्तिभिर्महासेनपण्डितदेवैः—

“ यथावद्वस्तुनिर्णीतिः सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रदीपवत् ।
तत्स्वार्थव्यवसायात्मा कथंचित् प्रमितेः पृथक् ॥ ”

(b) ५तथा चोक्तं श्रीमहासेनपण्डितदेवैः—

ज्ञानाद्रिन्नो न नाभिन्नो भिन्नाभिन्नः कथं चन ।
ज्ञातं पूर्वापरीभूतं सोयमात्मोति कीर्तितः ॥

Both of these quotations are from स्व. सं. where their numbers are 12 and 4 respectively. In this way it appears that the Kanarese commentator and पद्मप्रभ ascribe this small treatise to महासेन⁶ though still we are in dark as to how the tradition ascribing this work to अकलङ्क came in vogue.

1. Page 79 रा. ग्र. मा. edition.

2. Belonging to श्रीलक्ष्मीसिंहभट्ट.

3. जै. ग्र. र. edition.

4. p. 136.

5. p. 140.

6. I learn from Pt. Jugalakishore that a Ms. of स्व. सं. is ascribed to महासेन in the Catalogue of पडुवस्ती Bhandari at हृद्विदुरे. Thanks to Panditji for this important reference.

A careful study of स्व. सं. shows that the author is an able logician with a special command over अनेकान्त logic and its mode of application. It is this fact that might have led some one to relegate the work to अकलङ्क's authorship as in recent times, पद्मध्यायी¹ was ascribed to अमृतचन्द्र on the ground that there is an obeisance to अनेकान्त in its opening verses. We do not know much about महासेन. No doubt he is a polemic logician as seen from स्व. सं. and the introductory words (षण्णवतिपार्षडिविजयोजितविशाल-कीर्तिभिर्महासेनदेवैः) used by पद्मप्रभदेव. The Kanarese commentary says that he is the disciple of नयसेन. We know of one नयसेन² the author of धर्माश्रित, who had many honorific titles as त्रैविद्यदेव, त्रैविद्य-लक्ष्मीपति, and who composed his work in 1112 A. C. If our महासेन is the pupil of this नयसेन then he must have lived next to him in the middle of the 12th century. This cannot be a conclusive identity as there was one more नयसेन even before the author of धर्माश्रित of whom we have a mention in धर्माश्रित.³⁻⁴ It is just possible that महासेन, 'the far famed logician' might have composed some works on Jaina न्याय. I learn from Pt. Juglalakeshore that in the catalogue of books in Padubasti Bhandāra at Mūḍabidure there is a work named प्रमाणनिर्णय composed one by महासेन.

There were three other महासेनस beside the author of स्व. सं. The हरिवंशपुराण of जिनसेन mentions महासेन who composed the सुलोचनाकाव्य⁵ (not traced as yet). He thus belonged to a period earlier than 783 A. D. when हरिवंश was completed. Then there was another महासेन, the disciple of आर्यसेन.⁶ चाक्रिराज, who according to Honvad Inscription⁷ built many temples, was the adept of this Mahāsena. The inscription being dated Śaka 976 (1054 A. D.) this महासेन flourished

1. See Introduction to लाटीसहित, (मा. ग्र. मा) XXVI

2. See कर्णाटककविचरिते vol. 1 p. 117.

3. एनितोळबु तर्कशास्त्रम्
वनितुमनतिशयदिनेसेय नयसेनसुनी- १
अने बहनेडु धारिणि
मनदादरिदिने पोगळे कीर्तियनात ॥

धर्माश्रित I. 21.

4. According to a statement of देवचन्द्र there was one more नयसेन who is said to have written a गुण्यालवकथासार (not traced any where.) He belongs to a period later than 13th century.

5. महासेनस्य मधुरा शीलालङ्कारधारिणी
कथा न वर्णिता केन वनितेव सुलोचना I 33.
(There is a pun on the word सुलोचना)

6. The author of स्व सं. is the disciple of नयसेन. See above.

7. See I. A. XIX p. 268-75,

in the middle of the 11th century.¹ The third महासेन is the author of प्रद्युम्नचरित² and the colophon of that work at the end of each chapter runs thus:— 'इति श्रीसिंधुराजसत्कमहामहत्तमश्रीपप्पटगुरोः पण्डितश्रीमहासेनाचार्यकृते प्रद्युम्नचरिते &c. Thus it was written at the instance of पप्पट a high official of सिंधुराज. In the light of the available material there is no definite evidence to identify the author of स्व. सं. with any one of these three.

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1. See Répertoire D'épigraphie Jaina Nos. 186 and 217.
 2. Published in मा. ग्र. मा Vol. VIII.

THE BHARATA-ADIBHARATA PROBLEM AND THE
MS OF ADIBHARATA IN THE GOVERNMENT
ORIENTAL LIBRARY, MYSORE.

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

As various hypotheses have been offered for the solution of the *Bharata-Ādibharata* problem it is desirable to record data bearing on the problem from all sources possible. The following data has been recorded so far :—

1. Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar in one of his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ observes:

“Rāghavabhatta mentions a work called Ādibharata. A Ms with this name exists in the Mysore Oriental Library.”

2. Mr. Manmohan Ghoshe² has collected these quotations from Rāghavabhatta's commentary on the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*. According to him the quotations from the *Ādibharata* are 19 in number, while those from *Bharata* are 9 only. Out of these quotations from *Bharata*, seven are traceable in the extant editions of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* while two have their parallels in it.

3. Mr. M. R. Kavi³ possesses some fragments of a work called *Sadāśivabharata* which according to him may be the *Ādibharata*.

4. Aufrecht mentions a work on *alamkāra* called “*ādi-bharata-prastāra*” (No. 4991 of Oppert's Catalogue) the subject matter of which is stated to be *Bharataśāstra*.

Dr. S. K. De makes the following remarks⁴ regarding the problem :—

“It appears that the term *bharata* in course of time came to mean the dramatic art generally as it also came to mean the actor ; and Rāghavabhatta on *Śākuntalā* expressly refers to *ādibharata* by whom he means our author in contradistinction to these later *bharatas*. ”

Mr. Manmohan Ghoshe observes in this connection: “ If the *Ādibharata* and *Bharata* prove to be two different works it will only strengthen the general belief that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not the work of a single author. ”

1. Vol. XLI, p. 158.

2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1930, pp. 75-80.

3. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G. O. S.) Vol. I., pp. 5f of the Preface.

4. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 24, foot note 3.

In view of the foregoing data leading to two different views regarding the identity of *Bharata* and *Ādibharata* or otherwise I wanted to verify the statement of Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar by actual examination of the Mysore Ms of the *Ādibharata* referred to by him. This Ms is described in the Catalogue of the Mysore Oriental Library (1894), p. 108 as follows:—

“590. आदिभरतम् श्रीभरताचार्यप्रणीतम्
(472) आ. ८५ प. असमग्रम्”

With the kindness of the Curator of the Mysore Oriental Library I was able to get on loan the so-called Ms of the *Ādibharata* tallying outwardly with the description of the Catalogue given above. On actual examination, however, this work in *Andhra* characters turned out to be a regular Ms of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in an incomplete condition, only 15 chapters being extant in this copy with a folio of matter from the 16th Chapter¹. The Ms begins with the following verse:—

“ वेदोपवेदसंबंधो नाट्यवेदो महात्मनाम्
एवं भगवता सृष्टो ब्रह्मणा ललितात्मकः ” ॥ १ ॥

The above verse appears as verse 18th in the Baroda Edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (1928) and the Benares Edition (1929).

The colophon of the 1st chapter is as under:—

“ इति भारतीयनाट्यशास्त्रे नाट्योत्पत्तिर्नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । ”

The colophon of the 15th chapter reads—

“ इति भारतीयनाट्यशास्त्रे वाचिकाभिनये छंदोविधानं नाम पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ”

The present disclosure has removed the possibility of the existence of a Ms of the work of *Ādibharata* as a work on *Nāṭyaśāstra* distinct and separate from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* commonly ascribed to *Bharata*. It appears further to corroborate the view of Dr. De that the term *Ādibharata* was used with reference to the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in contradistinction to the later *Bharatas*.

1. After the present note was written I inquired of Mr. M. R. Kavi if he has made use of this Ms (labelled as *Ādibharata* but actually *Bhāraṭya Nāṭyaśāstra*) in his Gaikwar Oriental Series edition. He first wrote in reply that out of the two Mss used by him, one has 33 chapters, the other has only 15 chapters. He further informed me that “in the Mysore Library 4472 is *Nāṭyaśāstra* consisting of 15 chapters. The number may be a mistake for 472.” I next inquired of the Curator of the Mysore Library if Mr. Kavi has made use of this Ms. I was informed by the Curator, curiously enough, that no reference can be traced of Mr. M. R. Kavi having borrowed or used any of the Mss on *Nāṭyaśāstra* in his Library. This reply stopped my inquiry any further.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

VI

DATES OF RATNACANDRA'S COMMENTARIES ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA AND THE NAIṢADHĪYA —BETWEEN A. D. 1612 AND 1627

No complete Mss of Ratnacandra's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Naiṣadhīya* have yet been discovered. Aufrecht records only one Ms. of each of the commentaries and that too in a fragmentary condition.

The Ms of the *Raghuvamśatikā* of Ratnacandra mentioned by Aufrecht¹ is the same as No. 446 of 1887-91 of the Government Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms consists of 31 folios and is incomplete as it contains Ratnacandra's commentary on the first three cantos with two folios of commentary on the 4th canto. Ratnacandra was a pupil of Śāntacandra.² The fact of his having written a commentary on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharsa has been mentioned in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*, where the *Raghuvamśatikā* is called a sister or younger sister (सहोदरा or लघुभगिनी) of the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti* or Śrīharsakāvya-vivṛtti.³ As in the case of the *Raghuvamśatikā* Aufrecht⁴ records only one fragmentary Ms of the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti* viz. " Rgb 369 " which also is in the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute as No. 369 of 1884-87.

1 Catalogus Catalogorum Part III, p. 104

2. Ms No. 446 of 1887-91, folio 7 —

“ श्रीशान्तिचन्द्रवाचकसुखरोश्ररणराविदेमामिनस्य । ”

शिष्यकृते रघुकाव्ये कुर्वेह विवरण किञ्चित् ॥ २ ॥

3. Ibid — folio 12.

“ श्रीशान्तिचन्द्रवरवाचकदुर्धसिन्धु—

लब्धयतिष्ठविबुधोत्तमरत्नचन्द्र ।

काव्ये सहस्रकिरणोद्भवशब्देषु

शिष्यप्रबोधविधये कुरुते स्म टीका ॥ १ ॥

तस्या सद्बन्धनिरूपणबुधराया

सक्षितशब्दलतवाच्यविचारणया

श्रीनैषधयिवृत्तेश्च सहोदराया

मार्गगमत् प्रथमता प्रथितः सद्बन्धः ॥ २ ॥

See also folios 20 and 29 where the above two verses are repeated with slight variations.

4. Catalogus Catalogorum Part II, p. 67.

This Ms contains Ratnacandra's commentary on cantos XI, XX, XXI, and XXII of the Naisadhiyacarita. In this commentary also Ratnacandra repeats the stanza about his *guru* as under on folio 231 :—

“ श्रीशान्तिचंद्रवरवाचकदुग्धसिंधु
लब्धप्रतिष्ठविबुधोत्तमरत्नचंद्रः
श्रीनैषधीयचरिते कुरुते स्म टीका
विंशः समाप्तिमितवानिह सर्ग एवः ”

The above stanza is repeated at the end of cantos XX, XXI and XXII. The present Ms is dated Samvat 1668 (=A.D. 1612). As the *Raghuvamśatikā* mentions the *Naisadhīyavṛtti*, it must have been written after the *Naisadhīyavṛtti*. The two Mss. under reference give no further clue to the date of Ratnacandra and his works.

The question now arises whether our Ratnacandra is identical with the Ratnacandra to whom some works are assigned in the Jain Granthāvali.¹ This identity is proved by internal evidence of the Ms of the अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुमवृत्ति (No. 360 of 1880-81 of the Government Mss Library). This Ms is dated Samvat 1683. Ratnacandra's patent stanza about his *guru* is to be found in this commentary also.² There is a long praśasti at the end of the Ms which supplies much information about the works written by Ratnacandra previous to this commentary. We are told that this commentary was written in Samvat 1674 at Surat (सुरति वंदिरे). It had the following brothers :—(1) श्री प्रद्युम्नचरित्र (2) श्री सम्यक्त्वसप्तति—सम्यक्त्वरभप्रकाशनामवालावबोधरः (3) श्रीसमवसरणवालावबोध and (4) श्रीहितोपदेश. It had also the following sisters :—Commentaries on (1) श्रीभक्तामरस्तव, (2) श्रीकल्याणमन्दिरस्तव, (3) श्रीदेवाप्रभोस्तव, (4) श्रीमन्धर्मस्तव, (5) श्रीब्रह्मभवीरस्तव, (6) श्रीकृपारसकोश, (7) श्रीनैषधमहाकाव्य and (8) रघुवंशमहाकाव्य. This list attached to the colophon of a work composed in Samvat 1674 and a Ms of which is dated Samvat 1683 proves that all the works in the list were written prior to Samvat 1683. The following table will give a clear idea of the

1. Jain Granthāvali (1909)—

p. 109 — अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुमवृत्ति—Composed in Samvat 1674.

p. 159 — कुमताहिबिजाखली — Composed in Samvat 1677.
(अपर नाम हितोपदेश).

p. 285 — भक्तामरस्तोत्रवृत्ति etc.

2. Ms No. 361 of 1880-81, folio 61—

“ श्रीशान्तिचंद्रवरवाचकदुग्धसिंधु
लब्धप्रतिष्ठवरवाचकरत्नचंद्रः
अध्यात्मकल्पफलद्वयचकार टीका
तत्ताधिकार इति षोडश एव सार्धः ”

chronological order which can be deduced from the foregoing data :—

	Works	Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
1	नैषधीयविवृति*	Before or in Samvat 1668*	1612	*Ms is dated Samvat 1668.
2	रघुवंशटीका*	Between Samvat 1668 and 1683.	Between 1612 and 1627.	*referred to in अ. क. वृत्ति Ms dated Samvat 1683.
3	हितोपदेश	Composed in Samvat 1677*	Composed in 1621.	*according to Jain Granthāvali p. 159.
4	भक्तामरस्तोत्र*	Before Samvat 1683.	Before 1627.	*mentioned in a Ms of अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुमवृत्ति dated Samvat 1683.
5	अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुम-वृत्ति	Composed in 1674*	1618	*Ms is dated Samvat 1683 (=A. D. 1627)

It would thus be seen that Ratnacandra's literary activity falls between A. D. 1612 and 1627 or in the *first quarter of the 17th century* and that he wrote the two non-Jain commentaries possibly at the beginning of his literary career.

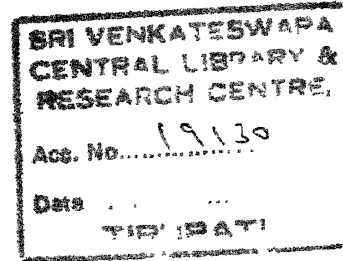
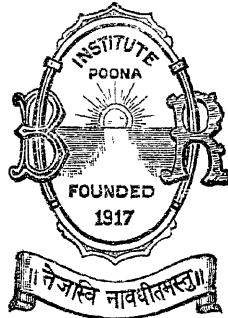
**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
Volume XIII
1931-32**

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Printed by V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt., at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press, 198 (17) Sadashiv,
Poona No. 2, and Published by
S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary, at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
POONA

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(16th May 1932)

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JANUARY 1932

[PART II

NON-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., Ph. D., B. L.

The Pali canon includes the books of the three Pitakas. The works which are not included in those Pitakas are known as non-canonical or extra-canonical.

The title *Nettipakaraṇa*¹ as explained by Dhammapāla, means exposition of that which leads to the knowledge of the Good Law. The *Netti* shows

1 This work has been edited by Prof. E. Hardy for the P. T. S. London, and published by the said society in 1902. There is also a Burmese edition of this text. The text is not entirely free from inaccuracies but all such defects are pardonable when we remember that it is a pioneer work. The text edited by the P. T. S. is based on the following manuscripts :—

- (i) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Mandalay Mss. in the India Office Library by Prof. V. Fausboll, J. P. T. S., 1896) ;
- (ii) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office (Phayre collection) , likewise written in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Pali Mss. in the India Office Library by H. Oldenberg) ,
- (iii) Paper manuscript (brought from W. Subhuti by Prof. Rhys Davids) in Sinhalese character (Introduction, p. xxxv). Prof. Hardy has relied on the palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character in noting readings whenever they are found to contribute to a better understanding of the text.

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates '*Nettipakaraṇa*' as the '*Book of Guidance*' (*Sākyā or Buddhist Origins*, p. 127).

the methodical way of attaining textual knowledge. It contains much of the materials which are so grouped as to form a book by itself. The commentary on the Nettipakarana says that without an able instructor it is impossible for men to be guided in the right understanding of the doctrines.

This treatise was translated into Burmese by Thera Mahāsīlavamsa in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, and again two centuries later, by a dweller in the Pubbārāma-Vihāra. It was composed at the request of Thera Dhammarakkhita and highly praised by Mahākaccāna. The Mandalay manuscript ascribes its authorship to Mahākaccāna as every section bears a clear testimony to the authorship of Mahākaccāna who has been described here as Jambuvanavāsīn, i. e., dweller in the rose-apple grove.

The Netti is essentially a Pali treatise on the textual and exegetical methodology, a Buddhist treatment upon the whole of the Tantra Yuktis discussed in the Kautīliya Arthasāstra, the Sūrutasaṃhitā, the Carakasamhitā and the Astānga-Hṛdaya. It stands in the same relation to the Pali cannon as Yāska's Nirukta to the Vedas. The scheme of methodology has been worked out in a progressive order, the thesis being developed or elaborated by gradual steps. To begin with we have the opening section, Sangahavāra, or the conspectus of the whole book which is a feature also of the Milinda Pañha. Then we have the Vibhāgavāra or the section presenting a systematic treatment in classified tables. This section comprises three tables or sub-sections :— (1) Uddesavāra, (2) Niddesavāra and (3) Patiniddesavāra. The Uddesavāra merely presents a bare statement of the theses and as such it serves as a table of contents. It is followed by the Niddesavāra which briefly specifies the import or definitions of the theses awaiting detailed treatment in the section immediately following, we mean the Patiniddesavāra, which is but an elucidation and elaboration of the Niddesa scheme. The theses in the Uddesavāra are introduced in three separate tables or categories — (1) that of sixteen hāras (connected chains), (2) that of five nayas (modes of inspection), and (3) that of eighteen mūlapadas (main ethical topics). The sixteen hāras consist of

desanā (the method of instruction), vicaya (the method of enquiry), yutti (the method of establishing connection in groups), padatthāna (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals), lakkhaṇa (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), catuvyūha (the method of four fold array), āvatta (the cyclical method), vibhatti (the method of classification), parivattana (the method of transformation), vevacana (the method of synonyms), paññatti (the method of determining (signification), otarana (the method of descending steps), sodhana (the method of rectification), adhitthāna (the method of determining positions), parikkhāra (the method of discriminating causal relations), and samāropana (the method of attribution).

The five *nayas* consist of the following modes of viewing things :— (1) *nandiyāvatta*, (2) *tipukkhaḷa* (by the triple lotus), (3) *sīhavikkīlita* (the lion-like sport), (4) *disālocana* (broad vision) and (5) *ankusa* (focussing).

The eighteen *mūlapadas* comprise nine *kusalas* and nine *akusalas*. The nine *akusalas* are *taṇhā* (thirst), *avijñā* (ignorance), *lobha* (covetousness), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion), *subhasaññā* (false idea of purity), *niccasaññā* (false idea of permanence), *attasaññā* (false idea of personal identity), etc. The nine *kusalas* are *samatha* (tranquillity), *vipassanā* (insight), *alobha* (absence of covetousness), *adosa* (absence of hatred), *amoha* (absence of delusion), *asubhasaññā* (idea of impurity), *dukkhasaññā* (idea of discordance), *aniccasaññā* (idea of impermanence) and *anattasaññā* (idea of non-identity).

In the *Niddesavāra*, the reader is to expect nothing more than a general specification of the meaning of the topics proposed in the *Uddesavāra* for treatment. From the *Niddesavāra* the reader is led on to the next step, the *Patiniddesavāra* which contains four broad divisions, namely. (1) *Hāravibhaṅga* (explanations of the connected chains), (2) *Hārasampāta* (discussions of the *hāra* projections), (3) *Nayaṣamutthāna* (exposition of the modes of inspection and (4) the *Sāsanapatthāna* (the classification and interpretation of Buddha's instructions).

The treatise deals in detail with sixteen hāras in the specified order as follows :

The Desanāhāra directs the reader to notice six distinctive features in the Buddha's method of instructions, namely, assādam (bright side), ādinavam (dark side), nissaranam (means of escape), phalam (fruition), upāyam (means of success) and ānattim (the moral upshot). It also points out that Buddha's instructions are carefully adapted to four classes of hearers, namely (1) those of right intellect (understanding things by mere hints), (2) those needing short explanations, (3) those to be slowly led by elaborate expositions and (4) those whose understanding does not go beneath the words. In the same connection it seeks to bring home the distinction between the three kinds of knowledge, sutamayī, cintāmayī and bhāvanāmayī.

In the Vicayahāra the method of ruminating over the subjects of questions and thoughts and repetitions in thought is laid down, and this is elaborately illustrated with appropriate quotations from the canonical texts.

In the Yuttihāra we are introduced to the method of grouping together connected ideas and the right application of the method of reasoning or inference in interpreting the dharma.

The Padatthānahāra explains the doctrinal points by their fundamental characteristics and exemplifies them. *This hāra has an important bearing on the Milinda expositions.*

The Lakkhanahāra points out that when one of a group of matters characterised by the same mark is mentioned, the others must be taken as implied. For instance, when the sense of sight is mentioned in a passage, the implication should be that other senses received the same treatment.

The Catuvyūhahāra unfolds the method of understanding the doctrines by noting the following points :—

(1) the text, (2) the term, (3) the purport, (4) the introductory episode and (5) the sequence, illustrating each of them with quotations from the canonical texts.

Non-Canonical Pali Literature

The *Āvattahāra* aptly illustrates with authoritative quotations how in the teachings of the Buddha all things turn round to form cycles of some fundamental ideas such as *taṇhā*, *avijjā*, the four Aryan truths and the like.

The *Vibhattihāra* explains the method of classifying Buddha's discussions according to their character common or uncommon or according to their values, inferior, superior or mediocre.

The *Parivattanahāra* contains an exposition of the method by which the Buddha tried to transform a bad thing into a good thing and transform also the life of a bad man.

The *Vevacanahāra* calls attention to the dictionary method of synonyms by which the Buddha tried to impress and clarify certain notions of the Dhamma. This section forms a landmark in the development of Indian lexicography.

In the *Paññattihāra* it is stated that though the Dhamma is one, the Lord has presented it in various forms. There are four noble truths beginning with *dukkha*. When these truths are realised then knowledge and wisdom come in and then the way to *Bhāvanā* is open to the knower. The elements may be compared but *Nibbāna* cannot be compared.

In the section on *Otarapa* the *Netti* illustrates how in the schemata of Buddha's doctrines diverse notions spontaneously descend under the burden of certain leading topics such as, *indriyas*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, five *khandhas* and the like.

The *Sodhanahāra* illustrates the method by which the Buddha corrected the form of the questions in the replies offered by him.

The *Adhitthānahāra* explains in detail the method of determining the respective positions of different ideas according as they make for certain common notions. In the *Adhitthānahāra* the basis of all truth is given. The four truths beginning with *dukkham* are described and side by side *avijjā* is shown to be the cause working in opposite ways. There are also paths bringing about the extinction of *dukkha*, etc. The various *kāyas* and *dhātus* are also considered. *Samādhi* is the only means of removing evils.

In the Parikkhārahāra the Netti explains and exemplifies how one can distinguish between the causal elements, broadly between hetu and other causal relations. *This section has an important bearing on the Paṭṭhāna of the Abhidhammapitaka.*

We come at last to the section called the Samāropanahāra. This section explains and illustrates the Buddhas method of four-fold attribution, (1) by way of fundamental ideas, (2) by way of synonyms, (3) by way of contemplation and by way of getting rid of the immoral propensities.

Hāra Sampāta is a division which is dependent on the hāra as its purpose is to present the projections or main moral implications of the hāras or the connected chains previously dealt with.

This division like the preceding one consists of sixteen parts exactly under the same headings.

In the Hāra Sampāta the commentator Dhammapāla has added and rearranged many new things. He cites the passages from the text and then puts a lay dissertation on them by way of questions and answers. *This division stands almost as an independent treatise by itself.*

Desanā hāra Sampāta — In this division it is laid down that Māra invades only a mind which is quite unprotected (pamāda-citta), which is based on false beliefs, on idleness, &c.

Vicaya hāra Sampāta — In this section it is laid down that desire (tanhā) is of two kinds: kusala and akusala. The one leads to nibbāna and the other to birth and suffering (saṃsāra). Mind is both kusala and akusala in nature. The real nature of things can only be seen in the fourth Jhāna stage. The various signs and nature of nibbāna and samādhi are described. Samādhi has five characteristics, namely, joy, happiness, consciousness, enlightenment and right perception. There are ten objects of meditation (kasīnāyatanāni) e. g., pathavi, āpo, etc. They are then attached to three objects, anicca (non-permanent), dukkha (suffering) and anatta (non-existence of soul).

A differentiation is brought about between an ordinary man and a man with knowledge. The former can do any kind of

offence that may be possible. But the latter cannot. The former can even kill his father or mother, can destroy the stūpas but the latter cannot; when one practises the four Jhānas, and attains to Samādhi, his previous life and futurity are known to him.

In the Yutti-hāra-sampāta it is stated that sloth, stuper and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind, firm in resolution and adheres to right seeing.

In the Padatthāna-hāra and Lakkhana-hāra-sampāta, the padatthānas (reasonings) are described as belonging to one who is well restrained in mind, words and actions and who by the proper attainment of padatthānas realises the highest path.

In the Catuvyūhahāra-sampāta, Āvattahāra-sampāta, Vibhatti-hāra-sampāta, etc., great stress is laid on right perception, mindfulness and kusala deeds which lead to the knowledge of paṭicca-samuppāda.

The third division called the Nayasamutthāna contains a detailed treatment of the five specified modes of viewing things. Under the Nandiyāvatta mode, it is pointed out that the earlier extremity of the world cannot be known owing to avijjā (ignorance) which has tanhā (desire) at the root. Those who walk in the field of pleasure are bound down in heretical beliefs and are unable to realise the truth. There are four noble truths—Dukkham, dukkhasamudayam, dukkhanirodham and dukkhanirodhagāminipatipadā. There is a middle path (majjhima patipadā) which rejects the two extreme views and which is identified with the eightfold noble path (ariya atthangiko maggo). He who has avoided diṭṭhi (false view) escapes from kāma (lust). Hence avoidance of desire (tanhā) and ignorance (avijjā) leads to quietitude or calmness. Kamma is recognised as the cause of the world of sufferings. But consciousness and all that concerns consciousness may be seen in their increment in the ten vatthus. The ordinary enjoyment of food and touch, etc. is the cause of distress of a man with desire.

The various āsavas (sins) are next described. The sufferings of a man with attachments, faults and wrong views are also narrated. The four paths, the four foundations of recollections,

the four Jhānas, the four essentials (sammappadhānas), the four meditations, the four pleasure yielding states, etc., are also stated; each of these is described as an antidote for the man with attachment, delusion and wrong views.

Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, the disciples, and all those who are devoid of attachment, hatred, delusion, etc., are like lions. Those who look to the right aspects, the senses, the counter forces of the views with as strong reasons as Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas etc., are said to have seen things just like a lion. Human types are four in number. Each of these has to undergo some sort of training. To each of them is offered an advice as to tanhā (desire), rāga (attachment), kusala (merit), etc. This is the way shown to be of the Tipukkhalo and of the Ankusa described in the text.

Now turning to the fourth division, the Sāsanapatthāna, we get a treatment of the proper method of classification and interpretation of the texts of the Dhamma. It is suggested that the discourses of the Buddha can be classified according to the themes into :—(1) Sankilesabhāgiya (those dealing with saṅkilesa or impurity), (2) Vāsanābhāgiya (those dealing with desire), (3) Nibbedhabhāgiya (those dealing with penetration), (4) Asekhabhāgiya (those dealing with the subject of a non-learner), (5) Sankilesabhāgiya and Vāsanābhāgiya, (6) Sankilesa and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (7) Sankilesa and Asekhabhāgiya, (8) Sankilesa and Nibbedha and Asekhabhāgiya, (9) Sankilesa and Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (10) Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (11) Tanhā-sankilesabhāgiya, (12) Ditthisankilesabhāgiya, (13) Duccarita-sankilesabhāgiya, (14) Tanhāvodānabhāgiya, (15) Diṭṭhivodānabhāgiya, (16) Duccaritavodānabhāgiya. Of these, sankilesas are of three kinds, tanhā (desire), diṭṭhi (false view), and duccaritas (wrong actions).

Various padas, slokas and texts are cited while explaining each of these textual classifications.

The eighteen main padas are those which are worldly (lokikam), unworldly (lokuttaram), etc. In fact the chapter is made highly interesting by its numerous quotations from familiar

texts and it does not enter deep into philosophical or logical arguments. But the classification and reclassifications are no doubt interesting as intellectual gymnastics.

The Petakopadesa is another treatise on the textual and the exegetical methodology ascribed to Mahākaccāna and it is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject treated in the Nettipakaraṇa. Interest of this treatise, if it was at all a work of the same author, lies in the fact that it throws some new light here and there on the points somewhat obscure in the Netti. Its importance lies also in the fact that in places it has quoted the Pali canonical passages mentioning the sources by such names as Samyuttaka (= Samyutta Nikāya) and Ekuttaraka (= Ekuttara or Anguttara Nikāya). Its importance arises no less from the fact in it the four Ariyan truths are stated to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism, the point which gained much ground in the literature of the Sarvastivādin school. The importance of the last point will be realised all the more as we find how the discourses developed in the Netti in the course of formulating the textual and exegetical methodology centered round the four Ariyan truths. This work has not yet been edited. The P. T. S., London has undertaken an edition of it. A specimen by R. Fuchs Diss. Berlin, 1908 deserves mention.

The Milinda Pañha or the questions of Milinda had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us. But, the original text is now lost in the land of its origin as elsewhere; what now remains is the Pali translation of the original which was made at a very early date in Ceylon. From Ceylon, it travelled to other countries, namely, Burma and Siam, which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, and where at a later date it was translated into respective local dialects. In China, too, there have been found two separate works entitled "The Book of the Bhikkhu Nāgasena Sūtra", but whether they are translations of the older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pali or of the Pali recensions is difficult

to ascertain. However, in the home of Southern Buddhism, the book is accepted as a standard authority, second only to the Pali Pitakas. Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them" ¹.

The book purports to discuss a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism ; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda of Sāgala and Thera Nāgasena. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas, and thus plays a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena who answers the questions and solves the puzzles in detail. Naturally, therefore, the didactic element predominates in the otherwise romantic account of the encounter between the two.

Milinda who has been described as the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sāgala (Sakala=Sialkot), has long been identified with Menander, the Bactrian Greek King who had his sway in the Punjab. He was born, as our author makes him say, at Kalasi in Alasanda, i. e., Alexandria ; and if we are to believe our author, he, resolved of all doubts as a result of his long conversations with Nāgasena, came to be converted to Buddhism. Nāgasena, however, cannot be identified with any amount of certainty.

The name of the author, as we have already said, has not come down to us. A close analysis of the book shows that a considerable number of place names refer to the Punjab and adjacent countries, and a few to the sea-coast, e. g., Surat, Bharukaccha, etc. Most of the rivers named refer again to the Punjab. It is, therefore, natural for us to conjecture that the author of the book resided in the far north-west of India or in Punjab. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of the Milinda Pañho. She thinks

¹ S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, Intro., p. XII.

that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nāgasena were edited in the new book form after Milinda's death, by special commission by a Brāhmana of Buddhist Collegiate training, named Mānava. There is, however, neither any positive or even negative evidence for such a theory.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain exactly the date of the Book. Milinda or Menander is, however, ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B. C. The book must, therefore, have been written after that date. On the other hand, it must have long been an important book of authority when Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, flourished in the 5th century A. D. For, he quoted from the book often in his commentaries, and that in such a manner that it follows that he regarded the book as a work of great authority. From a close analysis of the books referred to as quoted by the author of the *Milinda Pañha*, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, the learned editor and translator of *Milinda Pañha*, came to the conclusion that "the book is later than the canonical books of the Pali Pitakas (the author of the *Milinda-pañha* quotes a large number of passages from the Pitaka texts), and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed¹."

The *Milinda-pañha* has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant, and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose, it is simply a masterpiece of writing. The formal exactness of the early Pitakas as well as the studied ornamentation of later-day Pali or Sanskrit-Buddhist treatises are alike absent from its pages. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their meaning and gesture. The prerorations with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author of the art of conversation as well as of writing. Its style and diction bear a close resemblance to and are somewhat maturer

1 S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, Intro., p. XXXVIII.

than those of the famous Hastigumpha inscription of Khāravēla which is assigned by Dr. B. M. Barua to the second quarter of the 1st century A. D.¹

At Sāgala, a city of wealth and affluence, ruled King Milinda
 versed in arts and sciences and skilled
 Tert in casuistry. He had his doubts and
 puzzles with regard to Buddha's doctrines and utterances and
 other knotty problems of Buddhism. To resolve these doubts he
 went to Nāgasena, the famous arahat ; and then began a wonder-
 ful conversational discourse between the two. But before the
 discourse really begins, we are introduced by our author to the
 previous birth history (Pubba-yoga) of these two personages and
 then to the contents of various sorts of puzzles.

We are told that Nāgasena in a previous birth of his was one
 of the members of the religious brotherhood
 (a) Book I near the Ganges, where Milinda, in his turn,
 in a previous birth of his, was a novice. In accordance with his
 acts of merit in that birth and his aspirations, this novice after
 wandering from existence to existence came to be born at last as
 King of the city of Sāgala, a very learned, eloquent and wise man.
 Now he had doubts and problems in his mind, and in vain did he
 seek the venerable Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla to have them
 solved while all these were happening. The brother of the religi-
 ous brother-hood came to be born in a Brahman family as Nāga-
 sena. When he was seven years old he learnt the three Vedas
 and all else that could be learnt in a Brahmanical house. Then
 he left the house, meditated in solitude for sometime and he was
 afterwards admitted into the order as a novice by a venerable
 Buddhist priest, Rohana and was eventually converted into
 Buddhism. He was then sent to Pātaliputra to the venerable
 Buddhist sage Dhammarakkhita where he became an arahat.
 Now while he was living there he was invited at the Guarded
 Slope in the Himalayas by an innumerable company of arahats
 who were being harassed by King Milinda who delighted in
 putting knotty questions and arguments this way and that.
 Nāgasena readily accepted the challenge of Milinda and went to

1 Barua— *Old Bramhi Inscriptions*, p. 172.

Sāgala attended by a band of samanās. Just at that time Milinda had met Āyupāla, an Arahat of the Sankheyya monastery, whom too he confronted with his casuistry. Nāgasena who was then living at the same hermitage came now to the rescue of the Order. Milinda with five hundred Yonakas then repaired to Nāgasena, and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliments the conversational discourse began.

The first discourse turned on the distinguishing characteristics of moral qualities. Milinda enquired how Reverend Nāgasena was known and what was his name. Upon it Nāgasena initiated a discussion on the relation between name and individuality, and explained it thoroughly with the help of an instructive simile. The king then, obviously to test his knowledge, put to him a riddle and questioned him as to his seniority of years. Nāgasena fully vindicated himself, and the king then satisfied sought the permission of the Reverend Arahat to discuss with him. The Arahat in his turn told that he was agreeable to a discussion if he would only discuss as a scholar and not as a king. Then one by one Milinda put questions and Nāgasena solved them with his wonderful power of argumentation, simile, and illustration. He contended that there was no soul in the breath; he explained one by one the aim of Buddhist renunciation, the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, the distinction between wisdom and reasoning, and wisdom and intelligence. He further contended that virtue was the basis of the five moral powers requisite for the attainment of nirvāṇa and that other moral powers were faith, perseverance, mindfulness and meditation which a recluse should develop in himself. The characteristic marks of each of these qualities were expounded in detail, and their power to put an end to evil dispositions. A very important metaphysical question is next discussed wherein Nāgasena wants to establish, with the help mainly of illuminating illustrations that when a man is born, he remains neither the same nor the another; like a child and a growing man through different stages of life. 'One comes into being' another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. In this connection it is discussed if a man who will not be reborn feel any painful sensation; and then what is

after all reborn. A discourse is next initiated as to what is meant by 'time', the root and the ultimate point of it. This leads to another discussion as to the origin and developments of qualities, as to other existence or non-existence of anything as soul, which in its turn most naturally leads to a further discussion as regards thought-perception and sight-perception, and lastly to the distinguishing characteristics of contact or phassa, sensation or vedanā, idea of saññā, purpose or cetanā, perception or viññāna, reflection or vitakka, and investigation or vicāra. In all these discourses and solutions, Milinda is fully convinced and is full of admiration for Nāgasena.

The second discourse turns on the question of removal of
 (c) Book III difficulties and dispelling of doubts in the
 way of attaining a life of renunciation.

The various questions as to these doubts are not always related to one another, but all of them are instructive and helpful to solve doubts in the mind of Milinda, the King. He wants to know why really there is so much distinction between man and man, how renunciation is brought about, what is the character of the influence of Karma, and what is after all nirvāṇa and whether all men attain it or not. The interesting point raised next is whether rebirth and transmigration are one and the same thing, and if there is a soul or any being that transmigrates from this body to another. Among other doubts that conflicted Milinda were if the body were very dear to the Buddhist recluse, if the Buddha had really thirty two bodily marks of a great man, if the Buddha was pure in conduct, if ordination was a good thing. Milinda further enquired of Nāgasena what had been the real distinction between one full of passion, and one without passion, and lastly what was meant by an arahat who recollected what was past and done long ago. Then there were also other difficulties of various kinds which were all solved by the venerable Nāgasena. Milinda was satisfied that he had propounded his questions rightly, and the replies had been made rightly. Nāgasena thought that the questions had been well-put and right replies had been given.

This book deals with solutions of puzzles arising out of contradictory statements made by the Buddha.

(d) Book IV These puzzles were many and varied and were distributed in eighty-two dilemmas which were put by Milinda to Nāgasena, who, in his turn, gave satisfactory explanations to each of them. The contradictions in the Buddha's utterances were more apparent than real. About them strife was likely thereafter to arise, and it was difficult to find a teacher like Nāgasena. So an early solution of these dilemmas was imperative for the guidance of intending disciples of the Order. These dilemmas are particularly interesting as well as instructive and it is profitable to be acquainted here with a few examples. Milinda was puzzled by a dilemma — If the Buddha has really quite passed away, what is the good of paying honour to his relics? Nāgasena said to him, "Blessed One, O King, is entirely set free from life and he accepts no gifts. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (Tisso Sampattiyo). There are other reasons too. For, gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away, and accepts it not, can cause goodness to arise in them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the three-fold fire. And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. Beings, oppressed by the sorrow of becoming, can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrines, discipline, and teaching. Like the seeds which through the earth attain to higher developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasure of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathāgata — though he has passed away and consent not to it — being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine, the branches of righteousness, the flowers of emancipation, and the fruition of

monkhood. It is for all these reasons that even when the Buddha has passed away, an act done to him notwithstanding his not consenting thereto, is still of value and bears fruit.

A second dilemma that conflicted Milinda was, how can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects or thinks? To solve this dilemma, Nāgasena analysed the thinking powers of men from the lowest individual full of lust, ill-will and delusion to the highest Buddha having all knowledge and bearing about in themselves the ten-fold power and whose thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. He then classified these different kinds of thinking powers into seven classes. The thinking power of the Supreme Buddhas is of the last or seventh class, and its stuff is very fine, the dart is highly tempered and its discharge is highly powerful. It altogether outclasses the other six and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond an ordinary man's comprehension. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One has worked so many wonders and miracles. For his knowledge is dependent on reflection, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. It is more rapid than that, and more easy in action in the all embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than his reflection. His all-embracing knowledge is like the store-house of a great king who has stores of gold, silver and valuables, and all sorts of eatables; it is with the help of reflection that the Blessed One grasps easily and at once whatever he wants from the big store-house of his knowledge.

A third dilemma was, why did the Blessed One admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of his machinations? In giving a solution out of this dilemma Nāgasena told Milinda that the Blessed One was both full of mercy and wisdom. It was when he in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how having heaped up karma on karma, he would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite Karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by

the previous karma would also therefore become limited. But if that foolish person were not to enter the Order, then he would continue to heap up karma which would endure for a kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order. And by doing so, the Blessed One acted like a clever physician, and made light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta who would have to suffer many hundreds of thousands of kalpas. For having caused schism in the Order, he (Devadatta) would no doubt suffer pain and misery in the purgatories, but that was not the fault of the Blessed One, but was the effect of his own karma. The Blessed One did in his case act like a surgeon who with all kind intent and for man's good smears a wound with burning ointment, cuts it with lancet, cauterises with caustic, and administers to it a salty wash. So did the Blessed One cause Devadatta to suffer such pain and misery that at the end he might be relieved of all pains and miseries. If he had not done so, Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of kalpas.

Of other puzzles that arose in Milinda's mind, mention may be made of three out of many. These were, for example, how was it that an Arahāt could do no wrong; why did not the Buddha promulgate all the rules of the Order at once and how could Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved. Speaking as to the faults of the Arahāt, Nāgasena told Milinda that the Arahāts, like lay men, could be guilty of an offence, but their guilt was neither due to carelessness or thoughtlessness. Sins are of two kinds — those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules of the Order. Now, an Arahāt, in the true sense of the term, cannot be guilty of a moral offence; but it is possible for him to be guilty of any breach of the Rules of the Order of which he might have been ignorant. Next, speaking as to the method of promulgating the Rules from time to time and not all at once, Nāgasena quoted the authority of the Tathāgata; for the Tathāgata thought thus, "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so,

they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. An occasion arises, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule." As to the justification of King Vessantara's giving away his beloved sons in slavery to a Brāhmaṇa, and his dear wife to another man as wife. Nāgasena told Milinda that he who gave gifts in such a way as to bring even sorrow upon others, that giving of his brought forth fruit in happiness and it would lead to rebirths in states of bliss. Even if that be an excessive gift it was not harmful, rather it was praised, applauded and approved by the wise in the world.

The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of Nirvāṇa. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain; the form, the figure, duration, etc., of Nirvāṇa, the realisation of Nirvāṇa, and the place of Nirvāṇa, these are the puzzles that inflicted the mind of the King. Nāgasena solved them all one by one to the satisfaction of Milinda. According to him Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed, there is no pain in it. It is true that those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies, restrain themselves in standing, walking and sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvāṇa, that they enjoy Nirvāṇa which is all bliss. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear, even if it be a condition that exists. But there is something as to its qualities which can be explained. Nirvāṇa is untarnished by any evil dispositions. It allays the thirst of the craving after lusts, desire for future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It puts an end to grief, it is an ambrosia. Nirvāṇa is free from the dead bodies of evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless, it is the abode of great men, and Nirvāṇa is all in blossom of purity, of knowledge and emancipation. Nirvāṇa is the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death; it increases the power of Iddhi (miracle) of all beings, it is the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness, it puts a stop to suffering in all beings, to the suffering arising from evil

dispositions, and it overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and all sorts of pain. Nirvāṇa is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. Nirvāṇa satisfies all desires, it causes delight and it is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to, it is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, it is praised by all the Noble Ones. Nirvāṇa is beautiful in Righteousness, it has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted, it is immovable, it is accessible to all evil dispositions, it is a place where no evil dispositions can grow, it is free from desire to please and from resentment.

As to the time of Nirvāṇa, it is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible. Peaceful, blissful and delicate, Nirvāṇa always exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things according to the teaching of the conquerors realises by his wisdom. It is known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity and by freshness. Lastly as to the place of Nirvāṇa, there is no spot either in the East, or the South, or the West or the North, either above or below where Nirvāṇa is. Yet it exists just as fire exists even if there is no place where it is stored up. If a man rubs two sticks together, the fire comes out, so Nirvāṇa exists for a man who orders his life well. But there is such a place on which a man may stand, and ordering his life aright, he can realise Nirvāṇa, and such a place is virtue.

This book deals with solutions of problems of inference.

(e) Book V Milinda asked Nāgasena how they could know that Buddha had ever lived.

Nāgasena told him that as the existence of ancient kings was known by their royal insignia, their crown, their slippers and their fans, so was the existence of Buddha known by the royal insignia used by the Blessed One and by the thirty-five constituent qualities that make up Arahatship which formed the subject of discourse delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples. By these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe

that the Blessed One existed once. By this reason, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived. Just at the sight of a beautiful and well-planned city, one can know the ability of the architect, so can one, on examining the City of Righteousness which the Buddha built up, come to know of his ability and existence.

The sixth book opens with an interesting discussion. Can lay men attain Nirvāṇa? Nāgasena told that

(f) Book VI even lay men and women could see face to face the condition of peace, the supreme good, Nirvāṇa. 'But, what purpose then do extra vows serve?' asked Milinda again. To this Nāgasena replied that the keeping of vows implied a mode of livelihood without evil, it has blissful calm as its fruit, it avoided blame and it had such twenty-eight good qualities on account of which all the Buddhas alike longed for them and held them dear. And whosoever thoroughly carried out the vows, they became completely endowed with eighteen good qualities without a previous keeping of the vows by those who became endowed with these good qualities, there was no realisation of Arahatsip; and there was no perception of the truth to those who were not purified by the virtues that depended on the keeping of the vows. Nāgasena next explained in detail with the help of a good number of similes the character that came as a result of keeping the vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. But those who being unworthy take the vows incur a two-fold punishment and suffer the loss of the good that may be in him. He shall receive disgrace and scorn and suffer torment in the purgatory. On the contrary, those who being worthy take the vows with the idea of upholding the truth deserve a two-fold honour. For he comes near and dear to gods and men, and the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own. Nāgasena then gave Milinda the details of the thirteen extra vows by which a man should bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvāṇa. Upasena the elder, practised all these purifying merits of the vows and Blessed One was delighted at his conduct. The thirty graces of the true recluse are detailed next and whosoever is endowed with these graces is said to have abounded in the peace and bliss of Nirvāṇa.

Sāriputta, according to Nāgasena, was one like this who became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.

The seventh or the last book is concerned with a detailed list of the similes or qualities of Arahatsip; (g) Book VII of these similes thirty-eight have been lost and sixty-seven are still preserved. Any member of the Order who wishes to realise Arahatsip must be endowed with these one hundred and five qualities. Milinda silently and reverently heard detailed descriptions of these qualities; and at the end he was full of admiration for the venerable Thera Nāgasena for his wonderful solution of the three hundred and four puzzles. He was filled with joy of heart; and all pride was suppressed within him. He ceased to have any more doubts and became aware of the virtue of the religion of the Buddhas. He then entreated Nāgasena to be accepted as a supporter of the Faith and as a true convert from that day onward as long as life should last. Milinda did homage to Nāgasena and had a vihāra built called the 'Milinda-Vihāra' which he handed over to Nāgasena.

The Milinda-Pañha like the Bhagavat Gītā is the most interesting and instructive literary production of an age which is heroic. Its long narrative is composed of a long series of philosophical contest between two great heroes, King Milinda on the one hand and the Thera Nāgasena on the other. A pubba-yoga or prelude is skilfully devised to arouse a curiosity in the reader to witness the contest and watch the final result with a great eagerness. On the whole, the Milinda successfully employs a novel literary device to put together the isolated and disconnected controversies in the Kathāvatthu as representing different stages in the progress of the philosophical battle, and in doing so it has been in one place guilty of the literary plagiarism in respect of introducing King Milinda as a contemporary of the six heretical teachers on the model of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

Alasando (dīpo) — the island town of Alexandria on the
Place and country names Indus, founded by Alexander.
in the Milinda-Pañha

Yavana (Bactria) — That province watered by the Oxus or the Amu Daria and the premier satrapy of the Achæmenian kings ; later on came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B. C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality. Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India.

Bharukaccha — an ancient seaport equivalent to modern Broach in the Kaira district in Guzrat. Barygaza of the Greek geographers.

Cīna (country) — China.

Gandhāra (rattham) — an important ancient kingdom that had its capital at Purusapura or Peshwar in the North-western Frontier Province.

Kalinga — an ancient kingdom on the Orissan coast, identical with the modern Ganjam region. All older works, such as the Jātaka, Mahāvastu and Dīgha Nikāya, mention a kingdom named Kalingā with its capital Dantapura ages before Buddha's time.

Kalasa (gāma) — a village situated in the Alasanda island on the Indus. The birth place of Milinda.

Kajangala — mentioned in very early Buddhist Pali texts as a locality somewhere near Rajmahal.

Kasmīr (rattham) — a famous kingdom in the North of India.

Kosala — an ancient province identical with South Bihar, capital Śrāvastī.

Kolopattanam — an ancient seaport probably on the Coromandel coast.

Magadha (rattham) — an ancient kingdom identical with East Bihar ; capital Pataliputra.

Madhurā (nigamo) — an ancient city identical with modern Mathurā. Coins of Menander have been found here.

Nikumba (rattham) — somewhere in the north-west of India.

Sāgala (nagaram) — identical with Sākala, modern Sialkot, capital city of the King Milinda.

Sāketa — identical with ancient Ayodhyā country.

Saka country — the kingdom of the Sakas or Scythians in the time of Menander was confined to the Bactrian lands south of the Oseus and to Sogdiana to the north.

Sovira — ancient Sauvira, the country of the Sauvira tribe adjacent to the Sindhu country.

Surattho (nigamo) — an ancient seaport identical with modern Surat.

Bārānasi — modern Benares.

Suvannabhūmi — identical probably with Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.

Pātaliputra (nagaram) — an ancient city, capital of Magadha near modern Patna.

Udicca — a country in the north-west of India.

Vaṅga — identical with East Bengal.

Vilāta — an ancient kingdom somewhere in the north-west of India.

Takkola — an ancient seaport near Thaton in Lower Burma.

Ujjeni — identical with ancient Ujjayini, capital of the ancient Malwa country.

Greek (country) — ancient Greece in Eastern Europe.

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| Names of rivers in the
Milinda-Pañha | 1. Gaṅgā — The Ganges. |
| | 2. Acīravatī — an ancient river in Eastern India flowing through the Kosala country past Śrāvastī. |
| | 3. Yamunā — a tributary of the Ganges, the Isamos of the Greeks. |
| | 4. Sarabhū — identical with Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges. |

5. Mahī — a river south of the Vindhya flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These five rivers are often mentioned together in the Pitakas.

6. Sarassatī — an ancient tributary of the Indus.

7. Vitamsa — identical probably with Vitastā, a tributary of the Indus, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

8. Candrabhāgā — identical with modern Chenab, a tributary of the Indus.

A. Books silently referred to :—

Books referred to and mentioned in the Milinda-Pañho 1. Dīgha Nikāya, 2. Kathāvatthu, 3. Anguttara Nikāya, 4. Mahāvagga, 5. Cullavagga, 6. Vessantara Jātaka, 7. Sivi Jātaka, 8. Majjhima Nikāya, 9. Sutta Vibhanga, 10. Cātuma Sutta, 11. Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, 12. Amba Jātaka, 13. Dummedha Jātaka, 14. Tittira Jātaka, 15. Khantivāda Jātaka, 16. Cūla-nandiya Jātaka, 17. Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka, 18. Cariyā-pitaka, 19. Silavanāga Jātaka, 20. Sabbadātha Jātaka, 21. Apannaka Jātaka, 22. Nigrodha-miga Jātaka, 23. Mahāpaduma Jātaka, 24. Ummagga Jātaka, 25. Sutta Nipāta, 26. Thera Gāthā, 27. Samyutta Nikāya, 28. Dhammapada and 29. Nigrodha Jātaka.

Books or passages of books mentioned by name 1. Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, 2. The Suttantas, 3. Dhamma-Samgani, 4. Vibhanga, 5. Dhātu-Kathā, 6. Puggala Paññatti, 7. Kathā-Vatthu, 8. Yamaka, 9. Patthāna, 10. The Abbidhamma Pitaka, 11. The Vinaya Pitaka, 12. The Sutta Pitaka, 13. Mahā-Samaya Suttanta - (Dīgha Nikāya), 14. Mahā-mangala Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 15. Sama-cittapariyāya Suttanta - (unknown), 16. Rāhulvāda Suttanta (Majjhima), 17. Parābhava Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 18. Samyutta Nikāya, 19. The Sutta Nipāta, 20. Ratana Sutta - (Sutta Nipāta), 21. Khandha Parittā - (not traced), 22. Mora Parittā, 23. Dhajagga Parittā - (Jātaka Book), 24. Āṭānāṭiya Parittā - (Dīgha Nikāya), 25. Angulimālī Parittā - (Majjhima Nikāya), 26. The Pātimokkha, 27. Dhamma-dāyāda Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya), 28. Dakkhina Vibhanga of the Majjhima Nikāya, 29. Cariyā Pitaka, ?

Navangam Buddha Vacanam, 31. Dīgha Nikāya, 32. Majjhima Nikāya, 33. Khuddaka Nikāya, 34. Mahā Rāhulovāda (Majjhima Nikāya), 35. Purā-bheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 36. Kalaha Vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 37. Cūla-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 38. Mahā-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 39. Tuvataka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 40. Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 41. Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 42. Sakka-Pañha Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 43. Tirokudda Suttanta (Khuddaka Pāṭha), 44. Ekuttara Nikāya (Anguttara Nikāya), 45. Dhaniya Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 46. Kummūpama Suttanta (Samyutta Nikāya), 47. Sacca Samyutta (Samyutta Nikāya), 48. Vidhura Punnaka Jātaka, 49. Dhammapada, 50. Sutasoma Jātaka, 51. Kanha Jātaka, 52. Lomahamsana Pariyāya, 53. Cakkavāka Jātaka, 54. Culla Nārada Jātaka, 55. Lakkhana Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 56. Bhallātiya Jātaka, 57. Parinibbāna Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya).

V. Trenckner has edited the book with a general index by C. J. Rylands and an index of gāthās by Mr. Rhys Davids. It has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and included in the Sacred Books of the East Series as Vols. XXXV-XXXVI. There is a Sinhalese translation of the Milinda Pañho by Hīnati Kumbure under the title "Milinda prashnaya," Colombo, 1900.

The following books may be consulted :—

1. Le Bonheur du Nirvāna extrait du Milindapprashnaya ; ou Miroir des doctrines sacrees traduit du Pali par Lewis da Sylva Pandit. (Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, 1885).

2. Deux Traductions chinoises du Milindapañho Par E. Specht avec introduction par S. Levi.

3 Chinese translations of the Milindapañho by Takakusu, J. R. A. S. 1896. This paper contains a number of Chinese translations in existence, the date of the two translations and the story of the discussions of King Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgasena found in the Buddhist sūtra called Samyutta-Ratnapitaka.

4. Historical basis for the questions of King Menander from the Tibetan by L. A. Waddel, J. R. A. S., 1897. This paper points out that the Milindapañha is known to the Tibetans.

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

5. Nāgasena by Mrs. Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1891.
6. Milinda Questions by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 1930.
7. Critical and philological notes to the first chapter of the Milindapañha by V. Trenckner revised and edited by Dr. Anderson, J. P. T. S., 1908.
8. Paul Pelliot - Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. (Journal Asiatic, Paris, 1914)
9. There is a Bengali edition of this work published by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat. Calcutta, which can vie, if it can vie at all, in its uncritical method and blunders
10. F. Otto Schrader, Die Fragen des König Menandros (Berlin 1903).
11. G. Cagnola, Dialoghi del Re Milinda (Italian translation of the Milinda Pañha).

The Abhidhammāvatāra was written by Buddhādatta; and it has been in continuous use amongst the students of the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhādatta was held as a personage of exceptionally high scholarly attainments by Buddhaghosa and others. It is interesting to note the incidents which led to the writing of this work. Buddhādatta was going from Ceylon to India when he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon for the purpose of rendering the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. Knowing the mission of Buddhaghosa, Buddhādatta was highly pleased and spoke thus; " When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me that I may summarise your labours," Buddhaghosa consented to comply with his request and the Pali commentaries were accordingly placed in the hand of Buddhādatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and that on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya¹. He was the author of the Rūpārūpavibhāga and of the commentary of the Buddhavaṃsa. The Abhidhammāvatāra is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It discusses the following points :—

1 Vide *Buddhādatta's Manual*, p. xix.

1. citta, 2. nibbāna, 3. cetasika (that which relates to the mind), 4. ārammana (object ideation), 5. vipāka citta (consequence of mindfulness), 6 rūpa (form), 7. Paññatti (designation), etc.

Rūpārūpavibhāga deals with rūpa, arūpa, citta, cetasika, etc. It is written in prose. Readers are referred to my work. 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. IV) for a further study of Buddhadatta and his works.

A. P. Buddhadatta a Bhikkhu of Ceylon, has edited Buddhadatta's Manuals or summaries of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammāvātāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga) for the first time for the P. T. S., London.

The Saccasamkhepa is a religious work on truth written by Dhammapāla Thera. Malalasekera points out that there seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and date of the Saccasamkhepa. The Saddhammasamgaha assigns it to Ānanda¹. The Saccasamkhepa has been edited by Dhammārāma Bhikkhu. There are five chapters in it dealing with rūpa (form), vedanā (sensation), cittapavatti (mind), and pakinnakasamgaha and Nibbāna. It is known as the summary of the truth published by the P. T. S. in J. P. T. S., 1917-1919. It consists of 387 stanzas.

The Abhidhammattha-Sangaha has served for probably eight centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday. The manual is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha; but nothing is known about him except the fact that he had compiled two other treatises on philosophy, and one of them was written while the author was at Kañcipur or Conjeeveram. Burmese tradition asserts that he was a Thera of Ceylon and wrote the compendium at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevī, Queen of King Vattagāmanī, who flourished between 88-76 B. C., a date fictitious-

1 The Pali Literature of Ceylon, p 202.

ly early for the book. In fact, Anuruddha is believed to have lived earlier than 12th but later than the 8th century A. D. Sāriputta compiled a paraphrase to this book. The Abhidhammattha-Sangaha has been edited and published in J. P. T. S., 1883 and translated with notes by Shwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the name of the compendium of Philosophy included in the P. T. S. translation series.

The Abhidhammattha-Sangaha is classed in Burmese bibliography under a classified list of philosophical manuals, nine in number. They are :-

1. Abhidhammattha Sangaha, by Anuruddha, 2. Paramattha Vinicchaya, by Anuruddha, 3. Abhidhammāvatāra, by Buddhadatta, 4. Rūpārūpavibhāga, by Buddhadatta, 5. Sacca Sankhepa, by Dhammapāla, 6. Mohavicchedanī, by Kessapa, 7. Khemapakaraṇa, by Khema, 8. Nāmācāra-dīpaka, by Saddhamma Jotipāla, and 9. Nāmarūpapariccheda, by Anuruddha.

The Abhidhammattha-Sangaha, because of its exclusively condensed treatment, stimulated a large growth of ancillary works, of which the following have up-till-now been known.

Exegetical literature
on the book

A. Four Tīkāś or Commentaries : 1. Porāṇa Tīkā by Navavimala Buddhi of Ceylon, 2. Abhidhammattha Vibhāvanī by Sumangala of Ceylon, 3. Sankhepa-Vaṇṇanā by Saddhamma Jyotipāla of Burma, and 4. Paramattha-dīpanī Tīkā, by Ledi Sadaw of Burma.

B. A 'Key' to the Tīkā-gyaw, entitled Manisāramañju by Ariyavamsa of Sagaing, Burma.

C. A commentary entitled Madhu-Sārattha-dīpanī, by Mahānanda of Hanthawaddy, Burma.

D. A number of works, not in Pali, but in Burmese :

1. Abhidhammattha-sangaha-madhu, a modern work by Mogaung Sadaw, 2. Abhidhammattha-sangaha-gandhī, a modern work, by Payagi Sadaw, 3. Paramattha Sarūpa-bhedanī, by Visuddhārāma Sadaw, 4. Abhidhammattha-Sarūpa-dīpaka, by

the late Myobyingyi, and 5. a number of analytical works entitled Akauk.

The Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha covers very largely the same range of subject matter as that of the Visuddhimagga, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different. But they are to some extent complimentary, and as such still hold the field as modern text books for students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is so highly condensed that it consists, for the most part, of terse, jejune sentences, which are not easily intelligible to lay readers. It is, therefore, profitable to have a resume of the main topics and problems of the whole work as a Manual of Buddhist Psychology and Philosophy.

Mind is ordinarily defined as that which is conscious of an object; and the Buddhists have tried to frame their definition with the help of fifty-two mental attributes or properties enumerated in Part II of the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha. But the definition of mind is also a division of mind, and our author's division into *vedanā*, *nāṇa*, and *saṅkhāra* corresponds to Bain's division of the mind into Feeling, Thought or intellect, and will or volition.

Consciousness (*viññāna*) has, therefore, been defined as the relation between *ārammaṇika* (subject) and *ārammaṇa* (object). In this relation the object presented is termed *paccaya* (the relating thing) and the subject, *paccayuppanna* (the thing related). The two terms are thus relative.

The object of Consciousness is either object of Sense or Object of thought. Object of sense sub-divides itself into five classes - sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, which are collectively termed *pañcārammaṇa* (five-fold object). The object of thought also consists of five sub-clauses: *citta* (mind), *cetasika* (mental properties), *pasāda*, *rūpa* and *sukhumārūpa* (sensitive and subtle qualities of body), *paññati* (name, idea, notion, concept), and *nibbāna*. These are collectively termed *dharmārammaṇa*,

The Paññatti object is of several sub-clauses. Paññatti is either
 (1) that which makes known (paññāpetitī);
 Paññatti or (2) that which is made known (paññāpi-
 yattī), corresponding to our author's terminology—Saddapaññatti
 and Atthapaññatti which are undoubtedly relative terms. Sadda-
 paññatti is a name (of a thing) which, when expressed in words,
 or represented by a sign is called a 'term'. It is synonymous
 with nāma-paññatti. Atthapaññatti is the idea or notion of the
 attributes of a thing made known or represented by a name. In
 other words, it is equivalent to 'concept' and is sub-divided into
 various classes. Paññatti has been distinguished from Para-
 mattha in the sense that the former is Nominal and conceptual-
 whereas the latter is Real.

The object comprehending as it does, the subject, is wider,
 more extensive than the latter. This is probably one reason why
 greater prominence is given to the object patthāna. In Buddhism
 there is no actor apart from the action, no percipient apart from
 perception. In other words, there is no conscious subject behind
 consciousness.

'Like the current of the river' (nadi soto viya) is the Bud-
 dhist idea of existence. For no two conse-
 Life and Ancient view cutive moments is the fabric of the body
 the same, and this theory of the ceaseless change or flux is called
 anicca-dhamma which is applied alike to the body and the mind,
 or the Being and thought respectively. The dividing line between
 these two is termed mano-dvāra, the Threshold of Consciousness.
 Life, then, in the Buddhist view of things, is like an ever-
 changing river, having its source in birth, its goal in death,
 receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions
 to its flood, and ever dispensing to the world around it the
 thought-stuff it has gathered by the way.

Subliminal Consciousness is either kāma, rūpa or arūpa.
 Primary classification of Consciousness Supraliminal consciousness is normal,
 supernormal, and transcendental. Normal
 consciousness is termed kāmaccitta, so called
 because desire or kāma prevails on this plan of existence. Super-
 normal consciousness is termed Mahāgalācitta because it has

reached the sublime state, and is further distinguished as rūpa, or arūpacitta.

Consciousness in this four-fold classification is primarily composed of seven mental properties (cetasikas) – namely, contact (phassa), feeling (vedanā), perception (saññā), will or volition (cetanā), oneness of object (ekaggatā), psychic life (jīvitindriya) and attention (manasikāra). These seven mental properties are termed sabba-citta-sādhāraṇa or universals, because they are common to every class and state of consciousness, or every separate act of mind or thought. There are forty-five different properties distinguishing one class from another. And those, in varying combinations, give rise to the eighty-nine classes of consciousness enumerated in Part I of the Abhidhammattha-sangaha, or according to a broader classification, one hundred and twenty-one. The seven mental properties have been enumerated above; there are, besides these, six particular specific or accidental properties. These are vitakka, vicāra, adhimokkha, viriya, pīti and chanda. The four universal bad cetasikas or properties are moha, ahirika, anottappa and uddhacca. Besides these, there are also two specific cetasikas or properties, lobha and diṭṭhi. All these properties are discussed and explained in the body of the book.

Of these and other classes of consciousness making up a total of eighty-nine, some function as causes or karma, some as resultants or vipāka, and some are non-casual or kriyā. Besides these three classes, there are two elements in every consciousness, the Constant and the Variable. The form of consciousness is the constant element, and is opposed to the matter of consciousness which constitutes the variable element. But in Buddhism, both subject and object are variable at every moment, and there are several forms of consciousness each of which may be designated a 'process of thought' whenever it takes place as a fact. To every separate state of consciousness which takes part in a process of thought as a functional state, either in the subjective form of the stream of being, or in the objective form of a conscious act of mind or thought, there are three phases – genesis

(uppāda), development (thiti), and dissolution (bhanga) - each of which is explained and discussed by the author in his *Manual* in all their processes and stages.

The possibility of the 'internal' presentation of all the six classes of objects mentioned above is that a sensation can be experienced, the Buddhists believe, without the corresponding objective stimulus. The possibility of Reflection proper is attributed to the relation termed 'proximate sufficient cause' by virtue of which (a) a sense impression once experienced in a sense cognition by way of the five doors, or (b) a previous experience of all internal intuition or cognition by way of the mind-door or (c) the idea once formed in the sequels of either, can never be lost. There are different processes of reflection in connection with Things Seen (dittha). But when an object that has not been actually sensed is constructed out of, and connected with these seen objects, it is termed 'object associated with things seen' (ditthi-sambandha). And the process of thought connected therewith is classed in the category of objects associated with things seen. The object constructed out of and connected with Things Heard (suta object) is termed 'object associated with things heard' (suta-sambandha). Any object constructed out of Things Cogitated (viññāta) and connected therewith is termed 'associated with things cogitated' (viññāta-sambandha). Any object in the category of Things Seen, Heard or Cogitated may either be past, present or future. When it is present, it is intuited as a vivid reality. The same forms hold good for all kinds of thought or reflection.

How is memory possible, if the object be not the same for any two consecutive moments in life. The answer is given in detail by the author. Each mental state is related to the next in at least four different modes of relation (paccaya) :-- Proximity (anantara), Contiguity (samanantara), Absence (natthi), and Abeyance (avigata). This four-fold relation is understood to mean that each expired state renders service to the next. In other words, each, on passing away, gives up the whole of its

energy to its successor: and this is how the memory is helped and retained.

The stage of apperception pertains to that active side of an existence (*kamma-bhāva*), which determines the passive side (*upapatti-bhāva*) of the next existence. The apperceptual act is thus a free, determining, casual act of thought, as distinguished from the mental states, which are fixed, determined and resultant acts (*vipāka*) of *kamma*. Volition, under favourable circumstances, is transformed into *kamma*. But volition (*cetanā*) in apperception on occasion of sense (*pañca-dvārika-javana*) cannot possibly become *kamma*. Hence we must look to the volition involved in reflective or representative apperception (*manodvārika-javana*) for *kamma*, which according to the different characters of volition is classed in different types or varieties with distinct characteristics.

Interesting though is the phenomenon of dream, it is conspicuous in the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* by its absence. Scattered references and sometimes systematic explanations have here and there been made in Buddhist works regarding forms of dream-thought, dreams-classified, theories of dreams, relation of dreams, relation of dream to sleep, etc.

The first essential qualification of the process of thought transition from the normal to the super-normal is 'purity of virtue or morals'. The next is meditation and concentration of thought. There are four moments of apperception during the transitional stage from normal to super-normal consciousness. The first is termed 'preparation', the second 'success', which is followed by the third called 'adaptation'. After the last moment of 'adoption' normal consciousness is cut off by the super-normal, and the transitional stage is superseded by the latter, known as the first *Jhāna*, and for one thought-moment, the person attaining it experiences ecstasy. Attainment in *Jhāna* is thus a very important psychological moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience for the person who succeeds in commanding

it. Jhāna is usually classified in five stages, and in the Fifth stage ecstatic concentration reaches its full development with the help of the continued voluntary exercise of the mind on an after-image to which it has been directed.

To attain super-intellectual powers (abhiññā) for an adept in the Fifth Jhāna, it will be necessary for him to go through a course of mental training in fourteen processes. Super-normal powers of will or Iddhi-vidhā may then be developed by means of the so-called four bases of Iddhi which involve respectively the development of Four dominant or predominant principles of purpose, effort, knowledge and wisdom. There are ten classes of Iddhi known to Buddhism, the last three of which constitute the Iddhi-vidhā, and are used as a basis for the willing process.

With a slight difference in procedure in mental attitudes and mood of thought, the same forms of the transitional, inductive, or sustained and retrospective processes of Fifth-rūpa Jhāna obtain in the case of the Four Arūpa Jhānas. When an adept in the Fifth Rūpa-Jhāna, who has repeatedly induced the same through any one of the ten circles, with the exception of space, erroneously believes that all physical pain and misery are due to the existence of the body, and reflects on the relative grossness of this jhāna, he wishes to attain the first arūpa-jhāna, which he considers to be very calm and serene.

A person who wishes to transcend the experience of this conditioned world must first of all cultivate 'purity of views' or ditthi-visuddhi. Next he must cultivate in succession, 'purity of transcending doubt' or Kankhā-vitarana-visuddhi, 'Ten modes of Insight' or Vipassanā-nāpas or in other words the contemplative insight, enumerated and explained in the Text. All these ten kinds of insight are collectively termed 'purity of intellectual culture'. The matured insight of equanimity receives the special designation of 'insight of discernment leading to uprising', because it invariably leads to the Path, conceived as a 'Rising out of'. It

is also styled as the 'mouth or gate of Emancipation' (Vimokkha-mukha).

Emancipation has a triple designation, namely the 'Signless' or *animitta*, the 'Undesired' or *appaṇihita*, and the 'void' or *suññatā*. Emancipation itself, whether of the Path, the Fruit, or *Nibbāna*, also receives the same triad of names, according as it is preceded by the contemplation of things by 'uprising discernment' as either impermanent, or evil, or substantial.

The purity of insight which is the gateway of Emancipation is also called Path-insight. One who has attained perfect purity of insight cuts off the heritage of the average man and evolves the lineage of the Transcendental. It is followed by a single moment of Path-Consciousness by which the first of the Four Noble Truths is clearly discerned. Error and doubt are got rid of, *Nibbāna* is intuited, and the eightfold Path-constituents are cultivated. These four simultaneous functions correspond to the Four Noble Truths. Just like the Four Noble Truths, there are four stages of the Path, which are called Four Paths. The attainer of the first is termed *Sotāpanna* who will have as yet to undergo seven more rebirths in the *Kāmaloka*; the attainer of the second is termed *Sakadāgāmī* who will have one more such rebirth. But the complete destruction of these two does not permit of another rebirth in the case of the *Anāgāmī* or Never returner of the Third Path. The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path is the same mental order of intelligence developed into the Perfected view of the highest order and is the last stage of 'purity of insight'.

Death is assigned to one of four causes: (1) the exhaustion of the force of the reproductive (*janaka*) *kamma* that has given rise to the existence in question, (2) the expiry of the maximum life-term possible for this particular generation, (3) the combination of both these causes, (4) the action of a stronger arresting *Kamma* that suddenly cuts off the reproductive *kamma* before the latter's force is spent or before the expiry of the life-term.

The decease of the Arhant is according to Buddhist philosophy, the Final Death. If the Arhant be of the class known as 'dry-visioned' (sukkhavipassaka) who does not practise Jhāna, his final death, which takes place on the kāma plane, occurs after apperception or retention of impressions. If he be proficient in Jhāna, final death may occur (a) after sustained Jhāna; or (b) after apperception in subsequent retrospect; or (c) after the moment of 'super-intellectual' knowledge (abhiññā); or finally, (d) after retrospection following the attainment of the Topmost Fruit.

The Nāmarūpapariccheda is another Abhidhamma manual written by Anuruddha Mahāthera. It consists of 1885 stanzas dealing with name and form.

The Nāmarūpasamāsa was written by Thera Khemācariya mostly in prose. It deals with citta and cetasikakathā.

The Sutta Saṃgaha is a later manual or compendium of select suttas and is primarily intended for those beginners who desire to have a knowledge of the Pali scriptural texts in a nutshell.

The Paritta or Mahāparitta, a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttapitaka, is more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The Paritta, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of purely religious and ethical character. The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction. The victory of the holymen was accomplished by the Paritta (Mabel Bode. The Pali Literature of Burma, pp. 3-4).

The Kammavācā¹ (words of the act) is an important Pali text of which two manuscripts are available. The first manuscript is a very

¹ There is a collection of Kammavācās made by Herbert Baynes (vide J. R. A. S., 1892, Art. III). Readers' attention is also invited to

handsome copy of the Kammavācā in Burmese ritual or tamarind seed letters printed with a thick black resinous gum on sixteen leaves of royal discorped pasohs each leaf containing six lines each side. It begins with upasāmpadā (ordination). The second manuscript consists of fifty-eight Talipat leaves of five lines in character which are midway between Burmese and Kambodian. Like the first it begins with upasāmpadā. Kammavācās are the set forms of proceedings followed or to be followed by the members of the Buddhist Saṃgha convening a meeting or a synod, in moving resolutions, in making proposals or amendments or in accepting or rejecting them.

The Simā-vivāda-vinicchaya-kathā which has been edited by J. P. Minayeff for the P. T. S., London, Simā-vivāda-vinicchaya-kathā from a Sinhalese manuscript, contains some facts in the modern history of the Buddhist Church which will be of interest to the students of Pali literature. The language is not very easy and elegant. There are prose and poetry portions in it.

The Anāgata-vam̐sa has been edited by Minayeff. The edition is based on a Burmese manuscript, It Anāgata-vam̐sa contains an account of the previous existence of Metteyyo with the three Buddhas, Sumitta, Metteyyo and Mahutta. The poem is written in about 150 stanzas. According to the Gandhavam̐sa, the original Anāgata-vam̐sa was the work of an elder named Kassapa.

"A New Kammavācā" by T. W. Rhys Davids and G. L. M. Clauson, and also to F. Spiegel's Kammavākya, Palice et Latine ed. vgl. ferner Dickson, J. R. A. S., Vol. VII, New Series. Read Upasāmpadā-Kammavācā, a Pali text with a translation and notes by J. F. Dickson, J. R. A. S., 1875. It is a Buddhist manual of the form and manner of ordering of priests and deacons. In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity, the Kammavācā of the mendicant order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use. The Kammavācā can of course be called literature but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. In the Kammavācās we find monotonous repetitions. The language is rigid. (Mabel Bode, The Pali Literature of Burma, pp. 6-7),

The Jinacarita is a Pali Kāvya consisting of 472 stanzas setting forth in delightful verse the life and career of the Conqueror or the Buddha composed by the Medhankara of Ceylon while residing in a monastery built by King Vijayabāhu. There are at least four Medhankaras famous in the literary history of Ceylon; and historical evidence tends to show that the youngest or the fourth in succession was the author of the Jinacarita. He was called Vanaratana Medhankara, and was also the author of another Pali book 'Payoyasiddhi' and flourished under Bhuvaneka Bāhu 1st (1277-1288 A. D.¹). The mention of Medhankara as the author of the Jinacarita is made in the 'Saddhamma-sangaha', and in the 'Gandha-vamsa'.

The style of the poem is a queer admixture of the weak and prosy verses in some places, and of high poetic effusions in others. But the charm of the poem lies in its higher style, in the author's choice of graceful, though sometimes forcible images, and finally in the art of his descriptions and delicacy of his expressions. The Jinacarita betrays at almost every page, the intimate acquaintance of the author with classical Sanskrit literature, so much so, that the principal interest with regard to its style, lies in its sanskritisation.

The Jinacarita, however, throws no new light on the life of the Master; and we can hardly expect such a thing from a purely devotional work such as this. It is primarily based on the Nidānakathā, and it holds among the Buddhists of Ceylon, the same place that the Buddhacarita and the Lalitavistara hold among the Northern Buddhists. But what is strikingly surprising is that the Jinacarita is unknown both in Burma and Siam.

¹ Jour. P. T. S., 1904-5, p. IV, Note on Medhankara by T. W. Rhys Davids. But Mon Charles Duroiselle thinks that "the poem was written in the monastery built by Vijayabāhu II, who ascended the throne, in A. D. 1186 and was the immediate successor of the famous King Parākramabāhu. Jinacarita, p. iii (Edited and translated by C. Duroiselle, Rangoon, 1906). Read also "Jinacarita", edited and translated by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse in the J. P. T. S., 1904-1905.

In the beautiful city of Amara, there was a Brahman youth, wise and compassionate, handsome and pleasant, by name Sumedha. Hankering after wealth and treasures he had none, for this bodily frame he had no attachment. He, therefore, left his pleasant house, went to the Himalayas, and there discovered the eight implements necessary for an ascetic. He put on the ascetic garb and within a week obtained the five High Powers and the eight Attainments, enjoying the bliss of mystic meditation. One day he came down from the sky, and lay himself down in a muddy portion of a road through which the Dipaṅkara Buddha with his disciples was to pass. He, the Dipaṅkara Buddha, was delighted at it, and foretold that the ascetic Sumedha, in times to come, should become a fully enlightened Buddha, by name Gotama. Sumedha did him homage, and then seated in meditation, he investigated those conditions that go to make a Buddha. Sumedha, searching for Nirvāṇa, endured many hardships while going through the continued succession of existences, fulfilling the virtue of charity. He fulfilled, moreover, the Perfections of Morality, of Self-abnegation, of wisdom, and all others, and came to the existence of Vessantara. Passing away thence, he was reborn in the city of Tusita, and afterwards had another rebirth in the city of Kapila through the noble King Suddhodana, and his Queen Māyā. He approached the bosom of Māyā, and at the time of his conception, various wonders took place all over the world. In her tenth month, while she was proceeding to the house of her relative, she brought forth the sage in the Lumbini garden while she kept standing under a Sāla tree catching hold of a branch. The god Brahmā approached and received the child in a golden net, the child that was born unsullied as a priceless gem. From the hands of Brahmā and the angels, he stepped on to the ground, and gods and men approached and made offerings to him. Accompanied by a concourse of gods and men, he went to Kapilavastu and there a rejoicing of nature and men ensued for days and nights. In the Tavatimsa heaven the hosts of angels rejoiced and sported and predicted that he, the child would sit upon the Throne of Wisdom and become a Buddha. The ascetic

Kalādeva, the spiritual adviser of King Suddhodana, went to the Tāvātimsa heaven, heard the cause of their rejoicings, came down to Suddhodana's palace and wanted to see the child. The child was brought and instantly, the lotus-feet of the prince were fixed on the ascetic's head. Upon this, both Kalādeva and Suddhodana revered the soft lotus-feet. A second act of reverence was done by Suddhodana and other men and women of the royal house during the sowing festival when the child, the Wise One, had performed a miracle. The prince then began to grow day by day living as he did in three magnificent mansions provided for him. One day as he came out on chariot on the royal road, he saw in succession the representation of an old man, of a diseased man and of a dead man. He then became free from attachment to the three forms of existence and on the fourth occasion, delighted in seeing pleasant representation of a monk. He then came back home and laid himself down on a costly couch, and nymph-like women surrounded him and performed various kinds of dances and songs. The sage, however, did not relish them; and while the dancers fell asleep he bent upon retirement into solitude and free from attachment to the five worldly pleasures, called his minister and friend Channa to harness his horse. He then went to his wife's apartment and saw the sleeping son and mother and silently took leave of them. Descending from the palace he mounted his horse and silently came out of the gate which was opened up by the gods inhabiting it. Māra then came to thwart him from going by saying that on the seventh day hence, the divine wheel of a universal monarch should appear unto him. But, he, the Wise of the World, did not desire any sovereignty, but wanted to become a Buddha. Upon this Māra disappeared, and he proceeded towards the bank of the river Anomā where he dismounted himself and asked Channa to go back home with the horse and his ornaments. He then cut off his knot of hair with a sword; the hair rose up into the air and Sakra received it with bent head and placed it in a gold casket to worship it. Next he put up the eight requisites of a monk and having spent seven days in the Anupiya mango grove in the joy of having left the world, went to Rājagaha and made his round for alms just enough for his sustenance. Leaving the town he

went to the Pāṇḍava mountain and took the food. He was repeatedly approached by King Bimbisāra and offered the kingdom, but he declined it; and retiring to a cloister practised unmatched hardships. All this was of no avail; he, therefore, partook of material food and regaining bodily perfection, went to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree where he sat facing the east. Sujātā, a beautiful woman, mistook him for a sylvan deity and offered him a gold vessel of milk rice. The sage took it, and having gone to the bank of the Nerañjarā river he ate the food, took his rest, and then in the evening went to the Bo-tree which he circumambulated keeping the tree to his right. To his astonishment, a throne appeared, on which he took his seat facing the east, and promised that he would give up his efforts to attain Supreme Enlightenment even if his flesh, blood, bones, sinews and skin dried up. On his head the Mahā-Brahmā held an umbrella. Suyāma, the king of gods, fanned a splendid yak's tail, and god Pañcasikha, the snake king Kāla and thirty-two nymphs all kept standing and serving the Sage. Māra, then, creating unto himself a thousand dreadful arms, and surrounding himself by a manifold faced army, approached the Bo-tree. And at his approach the gods made good their escape. Māra created a terrific wind with a fierce roar, then the terrible torrent of large rocks, and brought on a most dreadful darkness, but each in succession was of little avail. All these turned to good account and the Blessed One did not even show any sign of consternation. The Evil One then threw his disc, hurled rocky peaks, yet the Unconquerable sat motionless as before. Baffled in his attempts he approached the All-Merciful and asked him to rise from his seat. The Blessed One enquired of the witness for his seat and Māra, showing his army, told that they were his witnesses and asked in his turn who had been the witness of Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha then stretched his hands towards the earth and called the earth goddess to witness. She gave forth thousands of roars and Māra caught by the fear fled with his army. Having dispersed Māra's hosts, he remained seated still on the immoveable seat, and in his first watch of the night obtained the excellent knowledge of the past, and in the middle watch the Eye Divine. In the last watch, he gained thorough knowledge of the concate-

nation of causes and effects, and at dawn he became perfectly Enlightened Buddha. Yet he did not rise up from his seat, but to remove the doubts of the gods remained seated there for seven days and performed a double miracle. Then after the investigation of the Pure Law, he at the foot of the goat-herd's banyan tree, caused to wither the face of Māra's daughter, and, at the foot of the Mucalinda tree, caused to blossom the mind of the snake-king. And, at last, at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, he enjoyed the bliss of meditation. Then the king of the Law, entreated by Brahmā Sahampati, wanted to fill the world with the free gift of the nectar of the Good Law. With this object, he travelled to the splendid Deer Park where the sages and mendicants built him a saint, and came to acknowledge him as the Sanctified, the Perfectly Enlightened, the Tathāgata. To the Elders of the Park, he delivered a discourse on the establishment of the kingdom of Truth, and dispelled their ignorance. He thus set the Wheel of the Law in motion for the good of the world by delivering the people from the mighty bond of transmigration. On his way next to Uruvela, he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the immortal draught of the Three Paths; and conferred on them the gift of ordination. He then went to Latthivana Park and there presented King Bimbisāra with the immortal draught of true doctrine. Thence he proceeded to the Veluvana Park and dwelt there in a hermitage. Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to Supreme Knowledge, sent his minister Udāyi to bring his son back to him. Udāyi came with a thousand followers and hearing the Master preach renounced the world and entered upon the path to sainthood. He then made known to the Master the desire of Suddhodana to see him, and requested to preach the Law to his kith and kin. The Buddha agreed to it and went to Kapilavastu where he was worshipped by Suddhodana and his relatives. But seeing that the young ones did not greet him, he performed a miracle at the sight of which Suddhodana was filled with joy. Then he went to the royal palace and preached the sweet doctrines to the king and hundreds of fair royal women. Next he extinguished the great grief in the heart of Bimbā or Yasodharā, his wife; and ordained prince Nanda even before the three

festivals, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling and entering on the house, had taken place. When his own son Rāhula followed next for the sake of an inheritance, the Wise One ordained him too.

After this he went to Sitāvana at Rājagaha where he preached to a merchant of Sāvattthī, named Sudatta, who attained the fruit of the First Path. Sudatta then went back to Sāvattthī, and there selected a park of Prince Jeta for the residence of the Blessed One. He (better known as Anāthapiṇḍika) brought this for a crore of gold pieces for the Teacher's sake alone, and built there a chamber and a noble monastery for the abode of the Master and his followers. He also beautified it with tanks and gardens, etc., and then inviting the Teacher to the spot dedicated to him the park and the monastery. The Buddha accepted the gift and thanked Sudatta for it, preaching to him the great benefit which lies in the giving of monasteries.

Residing there, he spent his days going here and there and beating the great drum of the Law. In the first season, he dwelt in the Deer Park in the Benares city. In the second, third and fourth seasons he dwelt in the lovely Veluvana at Rājagaha. In the fifth season, he made his abode in the great wood near Vesālī. In the sixth, he dwelt on the great mountain Mammakā, and in the seventh in the cool and spacious rocky seat of Indra. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth seasons, he dwelt respectively in the delightful wood of Bhesakālā, in the Kosambi silk cotton wood, in goodly Pāṇḍeyya and in the Brahman villages of Nāla and Vepañja. In the thirteenth season he lived on the beautiful Cāliya mountain, and in the fourteenth, in fair and lovely Jetavana. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth seasons, the Wise One made his abode respectively in the great Nigrodha monastery on a large hill at Kapilavattu in the city of Ālavaka, in Rājagaha and twice on the great mount Cāliya. In the twentieth season, he took up his abode in Rājagaha; and for the rest twenty-five years of his life, he made his abode in Sāvattthī and Jetavana. Thus for forty-five years, the Blessed One preached his sweet doctrine, bringing happiness to men, and freeing all the world and the gods from the great bond of transmigration.

The book ends with a prayer of the author in which he gives out his pious wishes to be born in the Tusita heaven, to be born contemporaneously with the Great Being, the future Buddha, to be able to give food, drink, alms and monasteries to the Wise One and so forth, and to become at last a Buddha himself.

The *Telakatahagāthā* is a small poem in 98 stanzas on the vanity of human life. It contains some of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The verses are written in chaste language. They represent the religious meditations and exhortations of a great therā named Kalyāṇiya who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen-consort of King Kalani Tissa who reigned at Kelaniya in 306-207 B. C.¹ The author of this work is unknown. A careful study of the poem shows that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. It is the only example of Sataka in Pali.

The *Pajjamadhu* is a poem composed of 104 stanzas in praise of Buddha. Buddhappiya, a pupil of Ānanda, is the author of this work. He is also the author of the Pali grammar known as the *Rūpasiddhi*. He is silent about the date of its composition. The author has given us his name and pupilage in verse 103 of this poem. The language is Sanskritised Pali and some of the verses are puzzling. There is a gloss in Sinhalese on the entire poem but it is verbose and rather diffuse in its explanations. The first 69 verses describe the beauty of Buddha's person and the rest are in praise of his wisdom, concluded with a panegyric on the Order and Nirvāṇa.

The *Rasavāhinī* is a collection of 103 tales written in easy Pali, the first forty relating to the incidents which happened to Jambudīpa and the rest in Ceylon. A Sinhalese edition of this work has been brought out by M. S. Unnanse. The P. T. S. London, has undertaken to bring out an edition of this work in Roman character. Its date

¹ G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 162.

is unknown but at the conclusion the author gives us a clue which helps us in determining it to be in all probability in the first half of the 14th century A. D. It is considered to be a revision of an old Pali translation made from an original compilation by Ratthapāla Thera of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Vedeha, the author of the *Rasavāhinī* gives us an account of the Vanavāsi school to which he belonged (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 210). The late H. Nevill suggests that the *Sahassavatthu-ppakarana*, still extant in Burma, formed the basis for the Pali *Rasavāhinī* (Ibid, p. 129). This work throws much light on the manners, customs and social conditions of ancient India and Ceylon. It contains materials of historical importance and as such is widely read in Ceylon. This work has been edited and translated by P. E. Pavolini (Società Asiatica Italiana, 1897). There is a glossary on the *Rasavāhinī* called the *Rasavāhinīganṭhī*.

Buddhist legends of Asoka and his times translated from the Pali of the *Rasavāhinī* by Laksamaṇa Śāstrī with a prefatory note by H. C. Norman (J. R. A. S., 1910) *Zwei Erzählungen aus der Rasavāhinī*, Von. Sten Konow (Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift, Leipzig). *Il settimo capitolo della Rasavāhinī* by P. E. Pavolini (Società Asiatica Italiana, Giornale. Firenze, 1895), should be consulted. *Die Zweite dekade der Rasavāhinī* (M & W Geiger), München 1918, with translation deserves mention.

The *Saddhammopāyana* has been edited by Richard Morris for the P. T. S. London. It is a piece of *Saddhammopāyana* poetry consisting of 621 stanzas and it deals with the disadvantages of the ten akusalas (demerits), sins (pāpa), fruition of merit, advantages of charity, precepts, meditation, approval, instructions, worship, refuges, exertions, etc. The language is easy and intelligible.

The *Pañcatidīpana* has been edited by M. Leon Feer (J. P. T. S., 1884, pp. 152-161). It is written in *Pañcatidīpana* 114 stanzas. This work furnishes us with an interesting piece of information regarding different hells. *Sañjīva*, *Kālasutta*, *Saṅghāta*, *Roruva*, *Mahāroruva*, *Tapa*, *Mahā-*

tapa and Avici are the eight great hells. Those who kill and cause living beings to be killed out of avarice, delusion, fear and anger must go to the Sañjiva hell. For one thousand years they suffer in this hell being subjected to continual torments without losing life and consciousness. Those who cause injury or do harmful deeds to friends and parents, speak falsehood and back-bite others must go to the Kālasutta hell. In this hell they are cut to pieces with burning saws. Those who kill goats, sheep, jackals, hares, deer, pigs, etc., are consigned to the Sanghāta hell, where they are huddled up in one place and then beaten to death. Those who cause mental and bodily pain to others or cheat others or again are misers have to go to the Roruva hell, where they make terrible noise while being burnt in the terrific fire of hell. Those who steal things belonging to gods, Brahmins and preceptors, those who misappropriate the property of others kept in trust with them and those who destroy things entrusted to their care are cast into the Mahāroruva hell, where they make a more terrible noise while being consumed by a fire fiercer than that in the Roruva. Those who cause the death of living beings by throwing them into the Davadaha fire, etc., have to go to the Tapa hell, where they have to suffer being burnt in a dreadful fire. Those who cause the death of beings by throwing them into greater Dāvadaha fire must go to the Mahātapa hell, where they have to suffer still more by being burnt in a greater fire. Those who injure men of great virtue and those who kill parents, arahats, or preceptor must sink into the Avici hell, where they suffer being burnt in such a terrible fire that would consume even the hardest things. In this hell there is not a least wave of happiness, it is therefore called the Avici or waveless. Besides these hells, mention is made of a hell called the Patāpana, where people suffer by being burnt in fires that are much more terrific than those of the Tapa and Mahātapa hells. Each hell has four Ussadanirayas, viz., Milhakūpa, Kukkula, Asipattavana and Nadi. Those who are in the Mahāniraya have to proceed to Milhakūpa when released. In this terrible hell they are beaten by a host of worms. Thence they go to Kukkula where they are fried like mustard seeds on a burning pan. Coming out of Kukkula they find before them a beautiful tree of fruits and flowers where they shelter for relief from torments. As soon as

they reach the tree they are attacked by birds of prey such as vultures, owls, etc. They are killed by these animals which they make a repast on their flesh. Those who are traitors must go to the Asipattavana where they are torn and eaten up by bitches, vultures, owls, etc. Those who steal money will also suffer in this hell by being compelled to swallow iron balls and molten brass. Those who kill cows and oxen suffer in this hell by being eaten up by dogs having large teeth. Those who kill aquatic animals will have to go to the fearful Vaitarani river where the water is as hot as a molten brass. Those who prostitute justice by accepting bribes will be cut to pieces in an iron wheel. Those who destroy paddy have to suffer in the Kukkula hell. Those who cherish anger in their heart are reborn as swans and pigeons. Those who are haughty and angry are reborn as snakes. Those who are jealous and miserly are reborn as monkeys. Those who are miserly, irritable and fond of backbiting are reborn as tigers, bears, cats, etc. Those who are charitable, but angry at the same time are reborn as big Garudas. Those who are deceitful and charitable are reborn as great Asuras. Those who neglect their friends on account of their pride are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger, or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in Yamaloka and the demon world. (Cf. the description of hells in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*)

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE BRĀHMAṆA PERIOD

NOTES FROM THE AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA

BY

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The Brāhmaṇa Literature of the Vedas is a vast field of enquiry for the historian who attempts to reconstruct from original data, a Social History of India.

In this article, an attempt is made to collect some very interesting passages in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of R̥gveda, which throw a flood of life on prevalent manners and customs of the age.

As regards eating and drinking — one of the most important of human functions, we find many passages scattered all over the entire Brāhmaṇa which will be dealt with hereafter. In III. 4, the following passage occurs wherein the “Agnimanthana” Ceremony is prescribed as a part of the “Āthithyesti,” a sacrifice held in honour of Soma conceived as guest newly arrived. Āśvalāyana also prescribes the ceremony thus :—“आतिथ्येलान्तातस्यामग्निमन्थनम्”. The passage referred to is :—तद् यथैवादा मनुष्यराज आगतेन्यस्मिन् वा अर्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त एवमेवास्मा एतत् क्षदन्ते यदाग्न मन्थन्ति अग्निर्हि देवानां पशुः । Now it is an indisputable fact that the Aryan indulged in meat diet — meat even of the forbidden kind. This passage distinctly says that whenever a king or any other respectable personage arrived as a guest in any household it was the duty of every householder to entertain him with the meat of a bull or a cow that miscarries. This custom is quite in keeping with the tradition of the Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras which distinctly refer to these with great approbation until we come to the modern Smṛtis which expressly forbid them. Compare the following passage from a modern text often referred to in legal literature. “मनुष्यं पशोर्वध.” (Āditya Purāṇa) Sāyana himself quite true to the tradition of his age cautions his reader and says while

commenting on the passage :—"अयं सत्कारः सृष्टिषु प्रसिद्धो युगान्तरघर्षो द्रष्टव्यः".

The passage in VI. 8 describes under the garb of a legend the various sacrificial animals, including man, which were immolated in sacrifices. It is as follows :—"एरुषं वै देवाः पशुमालभन्त ... तस्मादश्वो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽश्वमालभन्त स गां प्राविशत् । तस्माद् गोर्मेध्योऽभवत् । ते गामालभन्त सोऽविं प्राविशत् तस्मादविर्मेध्योऽभवत् । ते अविमालभन्त ... सोऽजं प्राविशत् । तस्मादजो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽजमालभन्त ... स इ िं प्राविशत् । सोऽनुगतो व्रीहिरभवत् ।"

Now this passage points unmistakably to the fact that all the animals mentioned above were used in sacrifices, and as such their remnants were partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer himself, for the Brāhmana expressly lays down the dictum (after repudiating arguments to the contrary), viz, तस्मात्तस्याशितव्यं चैव लीप्सितव्यं चैव (vi. 3). The story of Kavasa Ailūsa as related in the Brāhmana (VIII. 1) is important in many respects. It is as follows.—ऋषयो व सरस्वत्यां सन्नमासत, ते कवषमैर्लूषं सोमादनयन्, दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽब्राह्मणः कथं नो मध्येऽदीक्षिष्ट इति तं बहिर्धन्व उद्वहन् अत्रैनं पिपासा हन्तु सरस्वत्या उदकं मा पादिति । स बहिर्धन्व उद्वहन् पिपासया वित्त एतदपोनञ्जीयमपश्यत् प्र देवत्रा ... सरस्वती समन्तं पर्यधावत् । ते वा ऋषयोऽब्रुवन् विदुर्वा इमं देवा उपेमं ह्वयामहा इति तथेति तमुपहूय एतदपोनञ्जीयमकुर्वत् ।"

The same story is found also in the Kausītaki Brāhmana with slight alteration described in connection with the origin of the अपोऽनञ्जीयसूक्त traditionally ascribed to Kavasa, son of Ilūsa. The Rsis did not admit Kavasa into the sacrifice on the ground that he was the son of a slave and a non-Brāhman. They drove him away from the banks of Sarasvatī into a desert with the intention that thirst would kill him. Now Kavasa was a very learned man and he at once invoked the Sarasvatī with the hymn beginning with the verse ऋदेवत्रा (Rg X. 30. 1) etc. When the Rsis found that he was favoured by the Gods they realised their insignificance approached him in a suppliant mood, gave him the designation "Rsi" which he so eminently deserved but which in their arrogance they had withheld from him. "नमस्तेऽस्तु ऋषे मा नो हिंसीः त्वं वै नः श्रेष्ठोऽसि" (Kau. Brā. XII 3). This story gives us a good insight into the caste-system of the time of the Brāhmana. It shows the caste system still in a state of fluidity. The society

has not yet been divided into the rigid and mutually exclusive castes of the latter period. It shows that even a man of an inferior caste could qualify himself for admission into the higher castes provided he could prove his excellence. It was the same with Mahidāsa Aitareya, the traditional author of the Brāhmana, who was also the son of an 'ltarā' meaning low-born or other than the twice-born. In this case also, Aitareya became a seer and the whole of the Brāhmana together with the Āranyaka was revealed to him as he was favoured by the Gods on account of his superior piety and learning. The story is not found in any extant book but Sāyana in his introduction to the Brāhmana ascribes it to the संप्रदायविद्.

In XII. 11, we find an interesting picture of the regard in which the father-in-law was held by the daughter-in-law. In course of describing how a rival army is routed and dispersed the following illustration is given viz. "तद् यथैवादः स्तृषा द्वाशुरा-
ह्वजमाना निलीयमाना एति एवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानैति।". The daughter-in-law did not expose herself to the view of the father-in-law and as soon as he caught sight of her she used to hide herself from his gaze. It thus appears that the present Hindu Society has in this respect remained almost stationary from the time of the Brāhmana. Feminine modesty carried to gross exaggerations has marked the society in all periods.

According to the rituals a sāman is formed of three Rk verses, viz., "एकं साम वृत्ते क्रियते स्तोत्रियम्". The Brāhmana says, one Rk verse asked another sāman to be united together in wedlock. On the latter refusing to comply with the request two Rks asked to be united with the sāman but on the latter's still refusing, three of them approached the sāman to be united with it and so it now happens that a sāman song is composed of three Rk verses because one or two Rks are unequal to one sāman in strength. Therefore says the Aitareya in XII. 12, "तस्मादेकस्य बन्धो जाया भवन्ति, नेकस्य बहवः सह पत्यः ॥" Comp. XV. 3, यदिह वापि बन्धुः इव जायाः पतिवोष तासां मिथुनम्". One man can have many wives but no woman can have more than one husband. This is the first authoritative statement of Polygamy, which was common enough during the Vedic period. This passage is very freely quoted by later Smrtis

in favour of Polygamy or बहुविवाह. The king it appears had three kinds of wives with their distinctive appellations. The best kind was designated as महिषी, the second in rank and honour was called Vāvātā (वावाता) the third in rank was called Parivṛkti (परिवृक्ति). Polyandry as will appear from the passage was unthinkable and unknown amongst the civilised and enlightened Aryans of India. Polygamy although sanctioned by the law was only prevalent amongst the kings and the wealthier classes.

That the standard of morality was sufficiently high during the period is evidenced by the story of Prajāpati, in XIII.9 which relates the ravishment of his daughter by himself. He was punished by the Gods for this delinquency which was unknown before, “अकृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ।”. It can be safely presumed that Incest was unknown amongst civilized Aryans at all times.

An interesting picture of the comparative position of the wife and the sister in the household is to be found in XIII. 13. The text says, “तस्मात् समान.दया स्वसा अन्योदयाय जायाया अनुजीविनी जीवति ।”. “Therefore it is that a sister born of the same mother becomes a dependent or hanger-on on a wife born of a different mother”. This shows that the widowed sister occupied a subordinate position to the wife and that she lived upon the charity and sufferance of the wife who was the sole mistress of the house. This is undoubtedly a very interesting revelation found in the Brāhmaṇa and this custom has descended down to the present day, unaltered and unchanged from that remote period.

The Brāhmaṇa contains here and there in vague words and phrases statements of scientific theories which have been satisfactorily demonstrated only at a much later day by Western Scientists. The most important and startling theory is perhaps that of the sun – its rising and setting. Herein we find a scientific explanation of the appearance and disappearance of the great luminary – popularly represented as the rising and setting respectively. In XIV. 8 it is very distinctly laid down as a proposition that the sun never rises or sets. “स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नादति ।”. “अस्तमय” is explained by Śāyana as स्वरूपनाशः and उदय as उत्पत्ति. How are we then to account for the appearance and disappearance for the time being? The answer is given in the

following words :— “ तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्ते, अह एव तदन्तामित्रा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते, रात्रीमिवावस्तात् कुरुते, अहः परस्तात् । अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते, रात्रेरेव तदन्तामित्रा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते, अहरेवावस्तात् कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात् । ”.

The sun revolving in its orbit is said to be rising in that part of the hemisphere from which it is to be seen by the people. It is said to be setting in that part of the earth where it disappears from the gaze of the people. In other words it reveals light or day in front and leaves darkness or night behind.

Frequent references to the sea and navigation by sea-going vessels is to be found in the Aitareya. The sea is often requisitioned for a simile in connection with the sacrifice. The संवत्सर-सत्र such as गवामयन is often represented as a sea.

“ समुद्रं वा एते प्लवन्ते ये संवत्सरं उपयन्ति । ”

Sea-going vessels are distinctly referred to in XVII. 7.

“ एते वै यज्ञस्य नावौ संपारिण्यौ यत् बृहद्वथन्तरे ताभ्यामेव तत् संवत्सरं तरन्ति । ”

Again in XVII. 8, the sea is mentioned viz. : यो वै संवत्सरस्य अवार च पार च वद् ।

BEGINNINGS OF LINGA CULT IN INDIA

BY

ATUL K. SUR, M. A., F. R. Econ. S.

It would be platitudinous at the present stage of our knowledge of the history of Indian cultures to lay stress on the debt which Hinduism owes to Pre-Aryan and Un-Aryan cultures of India. So overwhelming is the burden of such debt that it would require the pages of some half-a-dozen tomes to do proper justice to the study of the extraneous traits in detail. In this short paper, I merely desire to touch upon the fringe of one such trait in Hinduism, namely, the origin and antiquity of the Linga Cult in India.

Until quite recently it was fondly believed that the Linga Cult in India is of quite recent origin. Indeed, at one time with the aid of all available data, its date could not be pushed back beyond the Imperial Gupta period. Thus, in 1903-04¹ the official archaeologist while describing a clay seal from Basarh, on which appeared the symbol of Linga and Yoni, loudly proclaimed it as the oldest representation of the phallic emblem that has yet been found in India. Then, in the Archaeological Report of the years 1907-08² there appeared the description of a miniature Linga and Yoni recovered from the areas north of the Dhamek Stūpa at Sārnāth, and apparently of the same date as the Basarh specimen. For two or three years thereafter these two specimens constituted the archaeological history of the Linga Cult in India. Then our knowledge of it was further advanced in the years 1909-10³, by the publication in the Report of the same years by R. D. Banerji of the description of a Śiva-linga, which had been rescued from Bhīta and was at that time preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Ideologically, this image could be divided into two halves. The upper half is modelled in the shape of human bust — a male figure holding a rose in his left hand and raising the other hand

1 Page 110

2 Page 61.

3 Page 148.

in the well-known *Abhaya mudrā* pose. Below the bust are four human heads, being indicated by deep drawings. There is an inscription on it which offers us the most valuable clue to its date — which has been fixed as the first century before Christ.

Not very many years later, T. G. Rao¹ announced the discovery of a phallus symbol discovered at Gudimallam, a village situated at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Renigunta, a railway junction station on the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway System. It is one of the most important and valuable archaeological specimen of the Linga yet discovered in India—as it represents the Phallus in a most stark and realistic manner. It has been shaped like a human phallus with an admirable degree of exactitude — even the longitudinal facets on the erect organ appear on this specimen in the most life-like manner. It is sheltered in an ancient temple with several inscriptions on it. It has been known from very ancient times as “*Paraśurāmeśvara*” and is still being worshipped by the local people. Though of very ancient date, yet it is in a very perfect state of preservation. The image proper is about five feet in height. It rises from a pedestal on the floor of the central shrine. It bears on its front a very beautiful figure of Śiva. This figure of Śiva has a very close resemblance with the figure of a Yakṣa in the Sāñci Stūpa, and on the ground of stylistic resemblance between the two, T. G. Rao has assigned it to the second century before Christ.

The understanding of the proper significance of the epithet “*Śiśnadeva*” in the Rgveda pushed back the antiquity of the cult of Linga to a millenium and a half earlier. This epithet occurs in two passages of the Rgveda. They are quoted below :—

“The terrible god Indra, skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these demons. Indra, exalting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant deity of a truth, any evil spirits. The glorious Indra defies the hostile being: let not those whose god is the ŚISNA approach our sacred ceremony.” RV. vii. 21, 4-5.

¹ Vol. II, p. 63ff. Rao—Hindu Iconography.

“Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them he has gone to, and in hostile army besieged inaccessible places, at the same time, when irresistible, slaying those whose god is the ŚÍSNA, he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates”. RV. x. 99, 3.

It is evident from the above passages that there were in Rgvedic times many rich and prosperous cities in the Indus Valley which were inhabited by the Non-Aryan Phallic worshippers. Some of these cities were very big in size — one had even a hundred gates.

The antiquity of the cult of Liṅga can be pushed still further back, if we only care to carry our researches into the domain of pre-historic archaeology. Such researches show conclusively that phallus played a considerable part in the religious and magical ideology of the Pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan peoples of India. There is a very fine specimen of phallus dating from the neolithic times in the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum.¹ It was found on the Shevaroy hills in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency. It is made of pale gneiss stone. Though the specimen has been much ravaged in the process of time, it still retains its original highly realistic shape. It was no doubt used as an object of worship or as a charm against sterility.

Shevaroy hills in the Salem district is not the only place in India which has yielded a phallic symbol of neolithic times. Earthenware phallic symbol dating from neolithic times have also been obtained from various places in the Baroda State in Gujrat.²

In this connection the data furnished by Linguistic Palaeontology is very illuminating. Przyluski in his paper on, “Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan” has shown that both the words “lāṅgala” (plough) and “liṅga” (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. He says that “liṅga” in the sense of “penis” has equivalents in the Non-Aryan languages of the East whereas it has no equi-

1 Page 61 Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and protohistoric Antiquities by Robert Bruce Foote.

2 Ditto. p. 139.

valents in the Indo-European languages of the West. In accordance with the original etymological meaning of the word, "lāṅgalam" when introduced in the Sanskrit vocabulary came to mean both the plough and the penis. On the other hand, specially in the Sūtras and the Mahābhārata a form "lagula" is found to mean both the penis and the tail (of an animal). If the equivalence "lāṅgala-lāṅgula" is authorised then the semantic evolution of the word would be easily understood. From "penis" one can pass without difficulty to the sense of "plough" and "tail". There are evident analogies between the copulation and the act of ploughing by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. The problem becomes more complicated from the fact that, almost inevitably, the word "linga" which strongly resembles the other words and has the meaning of penis comes in. Some Austro-Asiatic peoples use even today not a plough to furrow, but a simple pointed stick for digging holes in which they place the seeds. There the analogy between the "penis" and the farming instrument is as clear as possible. Profs. Hubert and Maus point out that in Melanesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a "penis". In some Polynesian languages the same word designates the penis and the digging stick. It is possible that the aborigines of India at first knew the use of the stick and that the name of the instrument for digging the soil has not changed after the introduction of the plough.

In the face of the evidence quoted above it becomes perfectly clear that the Aryans of India have borrowed from the aborigines not only the cult of Linga but also the name of the symbol. That it was of Un-Aryan origin is shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the Phallic worshippers in the R̥gveda. The paucity of Phallic worship in the case of other Indo-European peoples strengthens the argument for borrowing.

Before I come to a close I desire to indicate the time when the cult of Linga was introduced into the Aryan religion. We have already seen that in the R̥gveda it is being mentioned as a Non-Aryan cult. The whole of the later Vedic and the Sūtra literatures do not contain any reference to the Linga cult. It

appears for the first time in the epics and there it appears as an Aryan cult. Thus, the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that wherever Rāvana went he carried with him a Śiva-Liṅga of gold. In the Mahābhārata, too, Śivaliṅga is mentioned in several passages (Anuśāsaṇa, v. 822ff; vv. 7510, 7516; cf. also Dronaparva 9616ff; 9625 and 9631).

To sum up, Phallus worship in India is of Non-Aryan origin and dates from the Neolithic times. It was a flourishing cult in the Indus valley in the period of the R̥gveda. It became fused with the cult of Śiva in the epic period. The earliest archaeological specimens date from about the Christian era. The early specimens show definitely that Śiva-liṅga in its origin is of phallic origin.

ON THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS OF JAINA ŚĀKATĀYANA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

There is a belief current among the Jaina community that their Śākatāyana was identical with the elder Śākatāyana, the predecessor of Yāska and Pānini, and composed the Unādi Sūtras which are given in the Krdanta portion of the Kaumudī by Bhattoji Dikṣita.

In the introduction to the Śākatāyana-prakriyā-saṁgraha of Abhayacandra-sūri printed at the Jainendra Press at Kolhapur we are told—

श्रीमच्छाकटायनाचार्यप्रणीतान्युणादिसूत्राणि सर्वैरपि प्राचानैः शाब्दिकप्रवरैरङ्गी-
कृतानि तथा पाणाननाऽपि तान्येवैरङ्गीकृतान नान्यानि निबद्धानीत्येतदपि शाकटायना-
चार्यस्य शाब्दिकधौरयत्वं प्रख्यापयतीति नाविज्ञेयं सुधियाम् । शाकटायनाचार्यप्रणी-
तोणादिसूत्राणां व्याख्यानान तज्ज्वलदत्तमाधवाचार्यमिदभिर्न्यरच्यन्तेति सुप्रसिद्धम् ॥

That this is altogether a mistake will be obvious from the extracts which I give below from the Amogha Vṛtti :

उणादयः IV, 2, 279 —

बहुलमति वतत । धातः सत्यर्थे वर्तमानात् उण् इत्यवमादयो बहुलं भवत । कः ।
वायुः । करण्डः । वरेण्डः । चरेण्डः । एरण्डः । भूफिडः । भूफिड्डः । सर्पाणि यज्जुंषि ।
तत् । पिम् । कः । धूसरः । शख । शण्डः । बहुलग्रहणं । प्रयोगालुसरणार्थं तेन ये
येभ्यो धातुभ्यो यास्मन्नर्थे यथा दृश्यन्ते ते तेभ्यः तथा तस्मिन् भवन्तीति धात्वर्थकार्या-
(य) नियम [:] सिद्धो भवति ।

ऊवापाजिमिस्वदिसाधुशाहसनजनिचरीण्वरिभ्य उण् ।

किमः शृणातेः ।

त्रादानां रश्चलः ।

ऊकाद्वचः कच ।

Amoghavṛtti IV, 3, 279.

Pānini's Unādi Sūtras begin thus :—

ऊवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यश्च उण् ।

ऊन्दसीणः ।

हसनिजनिचरिचटिभ्यो ङुण् ।

किञ्जरयोः श्रिणः ।

त्रो रश्चलः ।

कृक वचः कश्च ।

Candra's Unādi Sūtras begin thus :—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ।

हसनिजनिचरिचटितलिभ्यो ङुण् ।

किञ्जराभ्यां अणः ।

कृकाद्वचः कश्च ।

The opening Unādi Sūtras of Hemecandra are as follows :—

कृवापाजिस्वदिसाध्यशौहस्तासनिजनिरहीणभ्य उण् ।

: ।

म्लच्छीङ्हस्वश्च वा ।

It may be stated here that Pāṇini divides his Unādi Sūtras into five pādas ; hence their name Pañcapādī. Candra's Unādi Sūtras are divided into three Pādas. On the other hand Jaina Śākatāyana and Hemacandra do not divide their Sūtras into Pādas. On comparing the above Sūtras, we find that Pāṇini and Candra have two terminations उण् and ङुण् while Jaina Śākatāyana and Hemacandra have only one termination उण्. The reason for this lies in the fact that Pāṇini and Candra teach the accents of words. कारु and ग are accented on the last syllable while दारु and सातु have the उदात्त accent on the first syllable. But in the period of Sanskrit literature to which Jaina Śākatāyana and Hemacandra belong, Sanskrit words had lost their accents and so there was no need to mark them by using indicatory letters such as ञ्, ञ्, च् &c. In confirmation of this view, I may cite a few more instances. Pāṇini has :

जृविशिभ्यां झच् III, 126.

Candra has :

जृविशोऽन्तच्

Jaina Śākatāyana has :

जृविशोऽन्तः Ms. p. 2099.

Hemacandra has :

जृविज्ञाभ्यामन्तः 212.

Again Pāṇini has :

हसिष्टृणिष्ठाऽमिदमिल्लूधुर्विभ्यस्तन् III, 373.

Candra has :

सृष्टृवाहसीणमिदमिल्लूधुर्विभ्यस्तन् II, 50.

Jaina Śākatāyana has :

हसिष्टृ(र)ण्वामिदमिल्लूधुर्विभ्यस्तः Ms. p. 2096.

Hemacandra has :

दम्यमितमिमावापूधृयृजृहसिवस्यसिवितसिमसाणभ्यस्तः 200.

The text of Unādi Sūtras in the manuscript of the Amoghavṛtti before me is full of mistakes. But it can be corrected with the help of the commentary called Śākatāyana Nyāsa. An incomplete copy of this Nyāsa has lately been discovered and is now deposited in the Oriental Library in Mysore, but it is wanting in the portion dealing with this subject. At the end of this Unādi-pāṭha there occur the following verses :

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।

कार्यानुबन्धोपपद सेय मेव सुणादिषु ॥

निर्ज्ञाते प्रत्यये धातुः पूर्वोस्मिन्प्रत्ययः परः ।

ऊ ह्यसुक्तानुसारेण कार्यं चात्वि(न्वि)ष्टसिद्धये ॥

प्रायः संज्ञा इमाः काश्चिदन्वर्थाः काश्च नान्यथा ।

वर्णानुपूर्विविज्ञानं व्युत्पत्त्या न विना भवेत् ॥

Amoghavṛtti IV. 3, 279.

I have proved elsewhere that the Amoghavṛtti was composed by Jaina Śākatāyana in the time of Amoghavarṣa I.

ON THE DATE OF AKALAṆKADEVA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

In a paper contributed to this Journal, Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A., says that he has assigned Śamkara to the last quarter of the sixth and the former half of the seventh century and Akalanka to c. 645. It is very easy to show that these dates are impossible. Prabhācandra lived in the time of Amoghavarṣa I and says that he was enabled to write his second work by approaching the feet of Akalanka. Let us consider the following succession of Jaina authors with their works :—

Akalanka अष्टांती and लघीयस्त्रय.

Mānikyanandi परीक्षामुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टसहस्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पत्रपरीक्षा.

Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड, न्यायकुमुदचन्द्रोदय.

Jinasena and Guṇabhadra आदिशुराण.

Jinasena and his pupil Guṇabhadra were the joint authors of the Ādipurāṇa. Guṇabhadra, while still a young man, wrote his Ātmānuśāsana, to instruct Kṛṣṇarāja II, who was then Yuvarāja. 35th verse of Ātmānuśāsana is quoted¹ by Prabhācandra in his second and later work Nyāyakumudacandrodaya. The last named work with its author Prabhācandra is mentioned in the Ādipurāṇa. These facts prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. We also know that the Nyāyakumudacandrodaya is a commentary on Akalanka's Laghiyastraya. Prabhācandra assures us that he was enabled to explain Akalanka's words in Laghiyastraya, because he enjoyed the rare chance of approaching the feet of Akalanka.

माणिक्यनन्दिपदप्रतिमप्रबोधं

व्याख्याय बोधनिधिरेष पुनः प्रबन्धः ।

1 Nyāsakāra and Jaina Śākaṭyāyana. Ind. Ant. (1916).

प्रारभ्यते संकलसिद्धिविधौ, समर्थे
 मूल प्रकाशितजगत्त्रयवस्तुसाथ ॥
 बोधः कोप्यसमः समस्तविषयः प्राप्याकलङ्कं पदं
 जानस्तन समस्तवस्तुवषय व्याख्यायते तत्पद ।
 किं न श्रीगणभृजिनेन्द्रपदतः प्राप्तप्रभावः स्वयं
 व्याख्यात्यप्रतिमं बचो जिनपतेः सर्वात्मभाषात्मकं ॥

Here we have प्राप्य + आकलङ्कं पदं. अकलङ्कस्य इदं आकलङ्कं. The termination applied here is अण्¹. प्राप्य + अकलङ्कं also gives us प्राप्याकलङ्कं. But the former method of separating the words is necessitated because we have to explain तत्पद as तस्य पद, तस्य referring to Akalanka involved in the ताद्धत form आकलङ्कं. A comparison is drawn between Gautama Ganadhara and Mahāvīra on one hand and Prabhācandra and Akalanka on the other. Just as Gautama Gaṇadhara approached the feet of Mahāvīra and was enabled to explain the Tīrthamkara's words, so Prabhācandra, by approaching the feet of Akalanka, was able to write a commentary on the Laghiyastraya of Akalanka. Prabhācandra also assures us that he wrote his first commentary on the परीक्षासुख of Mānikyanandi,

माणिक्यनन्दिपदपङ्कजसत्प्रसादात् ।

Between Mānikyanandi and Prabhācandra we must place Vidyānandapātrakesari, because Vidyānanda quotes the परीक्षासुख.

साधनात्साध्यविज्ञानमनुमानं विदुः ।

परीक्षासुख III, 14 ; अष्टसहस्री p. 197.

Vidyānanda's 1st verse in his पत्रपरीक्षा is cited by Prabhācandra in his Prameyakamalamārtanda, chap. VI. Therefore Mānikyanandi and Vidyānanda must be placed between Akalanka and Prabhācandra. The chronological order of these Jaina authors and their works is as follows :—

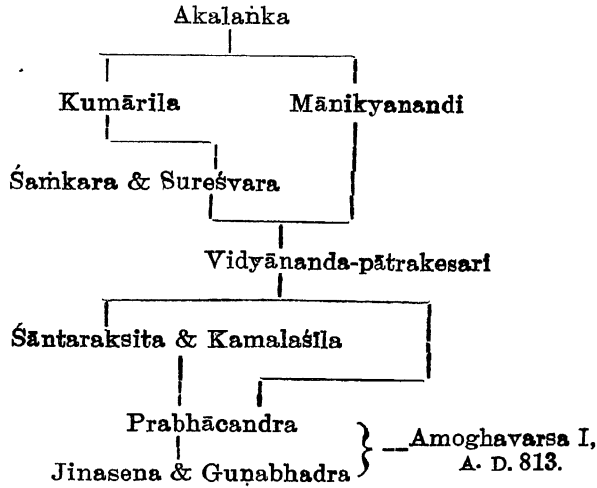
Akalanka अष्टशती and लघीयस्त्रय.

Mānikyanandi परीक्षासुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टसहस्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पत्रपरीक्षा.
 Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड. न्यायकुसुमद्वन्द्वोदय.

Jinasena and Gunabhadra आदिपुराण.

We must not lose sight of the fact that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Since between Akalaṅka and Prabhācandra there intervene Mānikyanandi and Vidyānandapātrakesari it is manifest that Prabhācandra must have been a boy, when he approached the feet of Akalaṅka. The latest date assigned to the Ādipurāṇa is Śaka 760 or 838 A. D. The difference between this date and the date proposed for Akalaṅka, c. 645, by Nīlakantha Śāstri is 193. It is thus obvious that Prabhācandra, a senior contemporary of Jinasena could never have approached the feet of Akalaṅka, if the latter had lived 193 years before. The relative positions of these authors can be seen at a glance from the following synoptical table :—



I have thus established a point of contact between Brahmanical literature, Buddhist literature, Jaina literature and contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The dates that I have discovered in the praśastis of Jaina authors are confirmed by the dates found in the inscriptions of contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The date of Akalaṅka is so firmly fixed that it is impossible to assign his critic Kumārila to the first or second half of the seventh century, in order to make him embrace Buddhism with his 500 followers or to make him the teacher of Bhavabhūti. The story that Kumārila embraced Buddhism is contradicted by the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical authors, who unanimously call

him *Mīmāṃsaka*. And *Prabhācandra*, who himself was a contemporary of *Amoghavarṣa I* and who had studied 'the writings of *Bhavabhūti*, must be understood to contradict, in anticipation, the statement of *Kumārila* being the teacher of *Bhavabhūti* (first quarter of the 8th century), if the usually accepted date of *Bhavabhūti* is to be relied upon. When the author of the *Prameyakamalamārtanda* assures us that his senior contemporary *Akalanka* is assailed by *Kumārila*. After this it is needless to state that *Śāntaraksita* and *Kamalaśīla*, who criticises *Kumārila* and *Vidyānandapātrakesari*, belong to the ninth century. It is thus clear that *Kumārila* and *Samkarācārya* were distinguished authors of the earlier part of the *Rāstrakūṭa* period.

1 ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां

जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ॥ *Mālatimādhava*.

ये नूनं प्रथयन्ति नोऽसमयया मोहादवज्ञां जना-

ते तिष्ठन्त न तान्प्रति प्रयतितः प्रारभ्यते प्रक्रमः ॥ *Prameyakamalamārtanda*.

DR. PATHAK'S VIEW ON ANANTAVĪRYA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

In his recent paper on Dharmakīrti and Bhāmaha¹ Dr. K. B. Pathak refers to Anantavīrya as a commentator of Parīksāmukha of Mānikyanandi and also as the author of a commentary on the Nyāya-viniścaya of Akalankadeva. Finally he concludes that this Anantavīrya belonged to the close of the tenth century A. C. from the facts, that he is referred to by Vādirāja who wrote in Śāka 947 (1025 A. C.), by Mallisena in his Mahāpurāṇa written in Śāka 969 (1047 A. C.) and also by Nagara Inscription of Śāka 999 (1077 A. C.). With due deference to the learned scholar one has to say that there has been a gross misrepresentation and puzzle of facts in his remarks and his conclusion about the date is an illustration of loose logic.

His first remark to be considered is that Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya of Akalanka and that he belonged to the close of the tenth century. So far as my knowledge of Jain Literature goes I do not know of any commentary on that work by Anantavīrya. Vādirāja has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya² and a few Mss of it are available. If Dr. Pathak possesses any commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya by Anantavīrya, students of Jain Literature would be very much obliged to learn from him the whereabouts of it.

Anantavīrya has written commentaries on Siddhiviniścaya and Pramāṇasamgraha of Akalanka. The Ms. of the commentary on Siddhiviniścaya³, recently discovered, is at the Gujarat

1 Annals, B. O. R. I. XII, iv, p. 373.

2 The Arrah Ms. of Nyāyaviniścayavivarṇa does not give the full text of Nyāyaviniścaya. It is quite recently, within the last three or four months, that the original text has been completely restored by Pt. Jinadas from another Ms. in the Jaina Boarding House, Sholapur. This original text of Akalanka's work is to be published soon.

3 The history of the discovery is very interesting and instructive. See, Anekānta Vol. I, pp. 134 etc.

9 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, while the *Pramāṇa-samgraha-bhāṣya* is still merely a name to us. But unfortunately this Ms. does not preserve all the *kārikās* of Akalanka in full¹, the commentary which is written in a running style noting only the opening words of each *kārikā*. The opening verses of *Siddhivinīśayaatikā* run as below :—

अकलङ्कं जिनं भक्त्या गुरुं देवीं सरस्वतीम् ।
 नत्वा टीकां प्रवक्ष्यामि शुद्धां सिद्धिविनिश्चये ॥
 अकलङ्कवचः काले कलौ न कलयाऽपि यत् ।
 दृष्टुं लभ्यं कच्चिल्लब्ध्वा तत्रैवास्तु मतिर्मम ॥
 देवस्यानन्तवीर्योऽपि पदं व्यङ्ग्यं तु सर्वतः ।
 न जानतिऽकलङ्कस्य चित्रमेतत्परं भुवि ॥
 अकलङ्कवचोऽम्बोधेः सूक्तरत्नानि यद्यपि ।
 गृह्यन्ते बहुभिः स्वैरं सद्रत्नाकर एव सः ॥
 सर्वं धर्मस्य नेरात्म्यं कथयन्नापि सर्वथा ।
 धर्मकीर्तिः पदं गच्छेदाकलङ्कं कथं ननु² ॥

The name of Akalanka's work is *Siddhivinīśaya* and the adjective *akalanka* to Jina is quite significant indirectly mentioning the name of Akalanka. Further the words of Akalanka are looked upon as scarce. The commentator expresses frankly, in an ingenious manner, his inability to explain fully Akalanka's words, though he is *anantavīrya* (of infinite power). The literary output of Akalanka is compared to an ocean and he is simply picking pebbles on the shore thereof. Finally he questions how Dharmakīrti who upholds the doctrine of *Nairātmya* can reach the status of Akalanka.³ *Anantavīrya* is the disciple of Ravi bhadra as we learn from his colophons :—

1 With great effort Pt. Jugalakishore has reconstructed the *Maṅgalā-carāṇa-kārikā* which runs thus :—

सर्वज्ञं सर्वतत्त्वार्थस्याद्वादन्यायदेशिनं ।

श्रीवर्धमानमभ्यर्च्य वक्ष्ये सिद्धिविनिश्चयम् ॥

—Anekānta, Vol. I. p. 137.

2 See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 201.

3 Some implications appear to be guaranteed from these verses and the most striking one is that even in the days of *Anantavīrya* the works of Akalanka were considered to be difficult. *Anantavīrya*, from the way in which he expresses this, it appears, is not a contemporary of Akalanka.

“इति श्रीरविभद्रपादोपजीव्यनन्तवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धिविनिश्चयटीकायां प्रत्यक्ष-
सिद्धिः प्रथमः प्रस्तावः” Or “इति रविभद्रपादकञ्जभराननवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धि-
विनिश्चयटीकायां प्रमाणान्तर्गमसिद्धिस्तृतीयः प्रस्तावः.”

Anantavīrya, so far as we know, is the first commentator on the works of Akalaṅka. Almost all later commentators have mentioned the name of Anantavīrya in full reverence. Prabhācandra, in his *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya* which is a commentary on the *Laghīyastrayam* of Akalaṅka, speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

त्रैलोक्योदरवर्तिवस्तुविषयज्ञानप्रभावोदयो
दुष्प्रापोऽप्यकलङ्कदेवसराणि.¹ प्राप्नोऽत्रण्योदयात् ।
स्वभ्यस्तथ विवेचितश्च शतशः सोऽनन्तवीर्योक्तितो
भूयान्मे नयनीतिदत्तमनसस्तद्बोधसिद्धिप्रदः² ॥

And in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the same work he does not leave the name of Anantavīrya unmentioned :—

सिद्धिप्रदं प्रकटिताखिलवस्तुतत्त्व-
मानन्दमन्दिरमशेषणैकपात्रम् ।
श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रमकलङ्कमनन्तवीर्य-
मानस्य लक्षणपदं प्रवरं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

Then Vādirāja (first half of the eleventh century), who refers to and quotes *Siddhiviniścaya* of Akalaṅka, in his *Nyāya-viniścayavivarāṇa*, compliments Anantavīrya that his words have guided him at every step like a torch light in finding out the sense saturated in the words of Akalaṅka. The verse runs thus :—

गूढमर्थमकलङ्कवाङ्मयागाधभूमिनिहितं तदर्थिनां ।
व्यञ्जयत्यलमनन्तवीर्यवाक्दीपवर्तिगणिशं पदे पदे ॥ ३ ॥

Then Abhayacandra who has written a *Tātparyavṛtti* on *Laghīyastrayam*³ speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

जिनाधीशं मुनिं चन्द्रमकलङ्कं पुनः पुनः ।
अनन्तवीर्यमानौमि स्याद्वादन्यायनायकम् ॥ १ ॥

1 The use of *saraṇiḥ* in Masculine deserves notice.

2 This verse occurs at the opening of the fifth chapter of that work.

—See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 132.

3 Published in *Māṇikacandra Granthamālā* (MGM), Vol. I.

That Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Akalanka's works is corroborated by the Humach inscription¹ of 1077 A. C. The 'Akalankasūtra' of the Inscription might indicate the Kārikās of Siddhivinīścaya, if not, the Pramāna-Saṁgraha-Sūtras² of Akalanka, on which too, as we learn from some remarks in his Siddhivinīścaya-tīkā, Anantavīrya has written a bhāṣya.

Now coming to the date of Anantavīrya the above references will help us to settle, to some extent, the later limit of his period. Prabhācandra, the author of Nyāyakumudacandrodaya and Prameyakamalamārtanda, flourished before the composition of Ādipurāna³ of Jinasena who might have begun it somewhere about 838 A. C. Now Prabhācandra plainly tells us⁴ that, for him the explanations of Anantavīrya were the only guide to understand the works of Akalanka, indicating thereby perhaps that he was not a contemporary of even Anantavīrya, then what to say of his being a contemporary of Akalanka whose words were looked upon as scarce by Anantavīrya himself! Though the exact date of Anantavīrya is still a desideratum this much is certain that he flourished some time after Akalanka⁵

1 EC. VIII, Nagara No. 35.

2 See Anekānta, Vol. I, p. 256.

3 चन्द्रांशुत्रयशर्म प्रभाचन्द्रकविं स्तुते ।
कृत्वा चन्द्रोदयं येन शश्वदाह्लादितं जगत् ॥ Ādipurāna I. 47.

4 See the verse quoted above.

5 Dr Pathak relegates Akalanka to the middle of the 8th century (Annals XI, ii, p. 155), but this view is not in any way cogent. Akalanka's dispute with Buddhists might be accepted as a historical fact but that he visited the court of Sāhasatunga should not be given the value of contemporary evidence since the inscription in which Akalanka is made to address Sāhasatunga belongs to 1128 A. C (EC II. 67) Further, the identification of Sāhasatunga with Dantidurga (Saka 675 = 753 A. C) is merely conjectural. In no contemporary record Dantidurga is called Sāhasatunga (Early History of Deccan, Section XI). We must see whether there is any other evidence useful to settle the limits of Akalanka's period. The Dhavalā commentary of Virasena is finished in the reign of Jagattuṅga (the available dates range from 794 to 808) The praśasti gives the date but the verses are hopelessly corrupt in the Sholapur Ms. More than once Virasena quotes in his commentary long extracts from Rāja-

(circa last quarter of the seventh century at the latest) and a pretty long time before Prabhācandra, the author of *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*. Thus it is impossible that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalanka's works can be assigned to the close of the tenth century. If Vādirāja mentions Anantavīrya, that means, at the most, the later limit might be settled. But the problem how much earlier he was than Vādirāja is not even attempted by Dr. Pathak and he simply jumps to the conclusion by throwing him only one generation back.

The next point to be considered is that Dr. Pathak ascribes the commentary on *Parīkṣāmukha* and the commentary on Akalanka's work to one and the same Anantavīrya. It appears that he is misled by the common name of both these authors who are not at all identical and not even contemporaries. It is already seen above that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalanka's works, lived pretty long before the time of Prabhācandra, the author of *Prameyakaṃalamārtapaṇḍa* and *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*, while Anantavīrya, the commentator of *Parīkṣāmukha*¹, is a comparatively late author, sufficiently later than Prabhācandra, since in his commentary he plainly tells us - and it is also proved by

vārtika of Akalanka. This means in Virasena's time Rājāvārtika had already superseded Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda and become popular. Further, the relations between Akalanka, Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra, outlined above on substantial grounds, militate against Dr Pathak's view. The lower limit for Akalanka's period is that he is later than Dharmakīrti. Then Siddhasena Divākara, who is said to have been acquainted with Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa*, is quoted in two places by Akalanka in his Rājāvārtika (pp 275 and 295). In view of these intricate facts, I think, we should put Akalanka in the last quarter of the seventh century at the latest. Further there is the verse of Akalanka carita (Anekānta p 78) which runs thus:—

विक्रमकेशताब्दीयशतसप्तमाब्दुषि ।

कलिऽकलङ्कयनिनो बोद्धिर्विशे महानुवृत् ॥

This verse gives 643 A. D. as the date when Akalanka's dispute with Buddhists took place. The evidence of the verse deserves some weight as it agrees with other circumstances. S. Srikantha Śāstri puts c. 645 as Akalanka's date, but he has not given any evidences (Annals XII. iii, p 255).

1 It is popularly known as *Prameyaratnamālā* or *Parīkṣāmukhapāṇḍikā*

the contents - that his Vrtti is merely a summary of Prameya-kamalamārtanda¹. Further, considering the manner in which he refers to Prabhācandra's work, there is no scope to infer that Prabhācandra and Junior Anantavīrya were contemporaries. This Junior Anantavīrya wrote his commentary for Śāntisena at the request of Hirapa, the son of Vijaya and Nānamba. So the two authors should not be identified.

I am aware of a way of escape from my conclusion. It might be said that Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra were contemporaries and there is no wonder if they have mutually used their works. Such a conjecture is out of court as it lacks all historical judgement and moreover it is not backed by any evidence. First, we are dealing with authors and their works of the seventh century or so, therefore we can not leave out of consideration the transit-conditions etc. of those days. Nor can we imagine that all these authors lived in one and the same place. If a particular author quotes or refers to a previous author, generally we will have to admit a gap of at least one generation if the evidences to the contrary are not sufficiently conclusive. Secondly, Anantavīrya's commentaries have been a guide to Prabhācandra, a fact plainly admitted by Prabhācandra himself and then can we imagine the same Anantavīrya saying,

प्रभन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ?

So I would put it as an established fact that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalanka's works, is quite different from the later Anantavīrya, the author of Parīksāmukhapañjikā. Many scholars have been misled by identical names and more so in the study of Jaina chronology, since the same name is borne by Jaina authors more than one. We know at least three Samantabhadras, at least three Jinasenās, about nine Śubhacandras and about

1 प्रभेन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ३ ॥

तथापि तद्वचोऽपुत्रचनारुचिरे सता ।

चेतोहरं भूतं यद्वचनं नवघटे जलम् ॥ ४ ॥

—See Bombay and Benares Editions.

twenty Prabhācandras¹. So one has to be cautious in establishing identity of two authors because of similarity in name. Further, in settling the relative chronology of Jaina authors quotations in the body of the work are often deceptive because of the multiplicity of Mss. and they should not be accepted as grounds of inference until one is satisfied that a particular quotation is genuine in that context (different families of Mss. will have to be consulted) and that the verse quoted does not belong to any previous author.

There have been some four Anantavīryas : for easy reference we would enumerate them by giving a few notable facts.

(i) Anantavīrya, the commentator of Siddhivinīścaya and Pramānasamgraha of Akalanka (last quarter of the seventh century at the latest) He was a pupil of Ravibhadra and flourished, soon after Akalanka, in the first quarter (circa) of the eighth century. The Humach inscription² of 1077 A. C. mentions him as an author of a Vrtti on Akalanka-sūtras.

(ii) Anantavīrya, a teacher at Śravana Belgola. He was the pupil of Gunasena, the disciple of Virasena. The Peggur inscription³ records a grant to him by Rakkas in Śaka 899 (circa 977 A. C.).

(iii) Anantavīrya, the pupil of Prabhācandra (II). He had a colleague named Municandradeva. This teacher Prabhācandra will have to be distinguished from the author of Prameyakamalamārtanda since the same inscription mentions another Prabhācandra previous to that. This Anantavīrya is referred to in some three inscriptions : Nidigi inscription⁴ of c. 1117 A. C., Kallurgudda inscription⁵ of c. 1121 A. C. and Purale inscription⁶

1 See MGM. Vols. XXIV, XXXI etc. Introduction and Annals XIII. 1. pp. 37 etc,

2 EC. VIII, Nagar No. 35.

3 EC I, Coorg Ins. No. 4, and also IA. VI, p 102 where Kittel holds a different date and puts Śaka 780 with a question mark.

4 EC VII, Shimoga, No. 57

5 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 4

6 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 64.

of c. 1132 A. C. So this Anantavīrya might have flourished at the close of 11th century.

(iv) Anantavīrya¹, the author of *Parīksāmukhapañjikā* which was composed for one Śāntisena. Pt. Jugalakishore opines that he might have flourished in the 11th century, so it is likely that he is the same as No. iii.

Moreover, the Chamarājanagar Inscription² of 1117 and Humach Inscription³ of 1147 A. C. mention the name of Anantavīrya along with Śrīpāla and others. These two along with Nāgamangala Inscription⁴ No. 19 refer to the first Anantavīrya. Then there is a dateless epigraph on a Jain image at Kogali (Bellary District) which mentions one Anantavīryadeva by whose pupil Obeyamasetti the image was made⁵.

Like Dr. Pathak, Dr. Vidyabhushan⁶ too has identified Anantavīrya Nos. i and iv (above). The error in this view has been already discussed. Dr. Vidyabhushan, however, adopts a different line of argument to settle the date of Anantavīrya (No. iv). It is already noted that *Parīksāmukhapañjikā* was composed for Śāntisena. Dr. Vidyabhushan supposed Śāntisena to be identical with Śāntisūri who died in 1039 A. C. But this supposed identity cannot be accepted for various reasons. First, the names Śāntisena and Śāntisūri are not identical. Secondly, Śāntisūri, who died in 1039 A. C. is a Śvetāmbara saint belonging to Thārāpadra-gaccha⁷. His name before the initiation was Bhīma, his native place was

1 Dr. Vidyabhushan says that this Anantavīrya is referred to in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Mādhavācārya but I have not been able to trace the verses ascribed to Anantavīrya there, in the *Prameyaratnamālā* (See pp. 83-84 of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* BORI edition).

2 EC. Chamarajanagar, No. 83.

3 EC. Nagar, No. 37.

4 EC. IV.

5 South Indian Jainism, part II, pp. 56-57.

6 History of Indian Logic, p. 198.

7 Bhandarkar, Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84. p. 44.

Unnatāyu (modern Una) near Anahilla Pātana¹. It is after initiation that he came to be known as Śāntisūri. He is the author of a long commentary on Uttarādhyāyanasūtra and of a Tīppaṇī on Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla. Jīvavīyāra and Chaitya-raddana-Mahābhāṣya too are ascribed to him. Śāntisena might have been only a novice when the commentary was written for him while Śāntisūri (the name given to him at the time of initiation) is a learned monk as seen from his commentary on Uttarādhyāyana which is a masterpiece of doctrinal exposition. Thirdly Anantavīrya and Śāntisena lived in the South as shown below while Śāntisūri was born and spent his life in Gujarat. Lastly there have been many Śāntisūris² and there is no reason why his very Śāntisūri should be selected for identity.

It should be considered now whether the name of Śāntisena applies any data to settle Anantavīrya's (No. IV) date. There are some Jaina epigraphical records where the name Śāntisena occurs. But one thing must be borne in mind that the epigraphical records are not the Census reports nor is it an inviolable rule that names of all authors, teachers and pupils should necessarily find place in inscriptions. However, there is an excuse. It is just probable, in view of the large number of Jaina inscriptions and on the unguaranteed supposition that Śāntisena might have become a pretty famous monk in later life to attract public attention to the extent of his name being recorded in a grant or, that we might be tempted to search his name in Jaina inscriptions. The name Śāntisena enumerated along with other teachers Śravana Belgola³ and Ghalya inscription⁴ has nothing to do with our Śāntisena as the inscriptions are of very early date. Then there is the Debkunda inscription⁵ of 1088 A. C. which mentions one Śāntisena, the pupil of Durlabhasena. There is a

1 For full details of this Śāntisūri, see Prabhāvaka Carita XVI, especially the historical summary thereof written in Gujarati by Muni Kalyanavijayaṇī published as an introduction to the Gujarati translation of Prabhāvaka Carita (Atmananda Sabha, Bhavanagar 1931).

2 See Peterson Report IV, pp. cxviii etc.

3 EC. II, No. 31.

4 EC. V Channarayapatana, No. 149.

5 EL. II, No. xviii,

10 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

temptation to identify this Śāntiseṇa with the one for whom *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* was written. Anantavīrya is a South-Indian author as indicated by the proper names mentioned by him. He wrote the commentary at the request of Hirapa (possibly Hirappa adapted to the Sanskrit sound), who was a son of Vaijeya (a palm-leaf Ms. in Laxmisenā Matha Kolhapur, reads Vaijayya: Vaineya of the printed edition is a mistake.) and Nāṇambā. Then Hirappa, Vaijayya and Nāṇambā -- these names have decidedly a South-Indian phonetic colour, while Debkunda is in Northern India. So it is least possible that Anantavīrya might write a manual for the benefit of Śāntiseṇa living in Northern India. The data of Śāntiseṇa's name are of no help. As a probable conjecture we have identified this Anantavīrya with No. iii above.

To conclude, Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalanka's two works, is quite different from Anantavīrya, the author of *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā*. The first flourished, -- say in the first quarter of the eighth century, -- some time after Akalanka while the second Anantavīrya is sufficiently later than Prabhācandra whose *Prameyakamalamārtanda* he summarises in his commentary and probably he flourished at the close of the eleventh century. Dr. Vidyabhushan's identity of Śāntisūri and Śāntiseṇa is not acceptable.

I am highly obliged to Pt. Jugalakishore, perhaps the highest living authority on Jaina chronological problems, whose notes on the present topic published in *Anekānta* have been utilised by me and who, at my request, sent so readily and kindly some references.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON TRIVIKRAMA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The date of Trivikrama, the Prakrit grammarian, has been only a matter of conjecture¹. The earlier limit of his date is quite definite as he himself says that he has reflected in his work the Prakrit forms of earlier authors including Hemacandra². Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. C.) finished his Prakrit grammar before 1142 A. C., when Kumārapāla came to the throne³. As to the later limit Pischel points out that Kumārasvāmi, the son of Kolācal Mallinātha, quotes Trivikrama both by name and anonymously in his commentary on Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha who was a contemporary of Pratāparudra II (1295-1323 A. C.). Aufrecht assumed that Mallinātha lived not earlier than 14th century. Hultsch however refers Mallinātha to the end of the 15th century. So Kumārasvāmi's reference to Trivikrama shows that Trivikrama lived earlier than 15th century. Dr. Laddu has shown that Simharāja who utilizes Trivikrama's sūtras probably lived in the beginning of 14th century and ultimately he accepts the conjecture of Pischel that Trivikrama belonged to the 13th century. Keith takes exception to Simharāja's reference to the fourteenth century as being conjectural and adds further, 'it is possible that he is really later than Bhattoji Diksita'. Dr. Gune would like to relegate Trivikrama to the fourteenth century at the latest.

I wish to add here a fresh line of evidence which helps, to some extent, to put a later limit to Trivikrama's date. The evidence comes from Halebida inscription published in the latest

1 For previous discussions on his date see, Pischel—Pkr. Gr. §38, Laddu—Annals of B. O. R. I. X, pp. 201-205; Gune—Bhavisayattakahā in G. O. S. p. 67 of the Introduction; Keith—A History of Skr. Literature p. 435.

2 Introductory verse No. 11.

3 See Introduction to Moharājaparājaya in G. O. S. p. XIV et seq.

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Mysore¹. The inscription records the death of Sakalacandra in 1236 A. C. He was a student of Arhanandi-Traividyaśeva and was given *dikṣā* by Bāhubali-Siddhāntideva who was a junior co-disciple of Viranandi-Siddhānta-cakravartī. This Viranandi finished his Kanarese commentary on his own *Ācārasāra* in 1154 A. C.² Considering the above relation between Sakalacandra, Bāhubali and Viranandi we can take these two dates 1154-1236 as tentatively circumscribing the life of Sakalacandra. This indicates that Arhanandi-Traividyaśeva who was the *Śrutaguru* of Sakalacandra flourished somewhere about the middle of the 12th century. Now Trivikrama tells us that Arhanandi-Traividya-Muni was his *Śrūta-bhāṭā* (i. e. teacher in Jain Scriptures). And if Trivikrama's student life is to be put in the middle of the 12th century at the feet of Arhanandi-Traividyaśeva he must have composed his Prakrit grammar, at the latest, early in the beginning of the 13th century. A period of fifty years is not in any way small for the Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra to travel from Pattana to South India, considering the literary activities of itinerant Jain ascetics of the middle ages. Moreover, the philosophical controversy between Devasūri and Kumudacandra⁴ at the court of Siddharāja, after giving all concession to sectarian bias with reference to florid colours of situations, characters and events as depicted in the play *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakarana*⁵ of Yaśaścandra, will have to be accepted as a historical event. The controversy, at which even Hemacandra might have been present, took place in Pattana in 1124 A. C. and it indicates pretty well the literary relations between the South and Gujarat.

1 Of the year 1929, published in 1931. Inscription No 14, pp. 74-75 etc.

2 See *Karnāṭaka-kavīcarita*, Vol. I, p. 168.

3 Introductory verse No. 2.

4 We are not, at present, with what little material we have, in a position to identify this Kumudacandra with any of the two Kumudacandras from South India—One is the teacher of Māghanandi, the author of *Śāstrasārasamuccaya*; while the other is a pupil of one Māghanandi as he tells us in the colophon of his *Jinasamhitā*. On these two Kumudacandras see, *Karnāṭakakavīcarita* Vol. I, pp. 388-90 and 392-93, MGM Vol XXI, p. 24 of the Introduction.

5 Published in *Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā*, Vol. VIII.

ĀDIBHARATA

BY

D. R. MANKAD, M. A.

The Govt. Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, possesses a Ms. (No. 41 of 1916-18) which is entered there under the title *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*. It has 61 folios, each folio containing 10 to 11 lines. It is a paper Ms., appearing recent.

I have carefully gone through this Ms., and I have found that it does not contain one single work, but fragments of different works. I shall show this by analysing the contents of the Ms.

Folios 1-33 are orderly and coherent as far as the work they contain goes.

Folios 34-47 do not seem to be a continuation of the work contained in folios 1-33. They (34-47) describe tālas etc., which are enumerated in the contents (prefixed to this Ms. in fol. 1-5) under the heading *saptamādhāye tālavīdhāna*. But on further investigation of these folios it seems that they do not contain the text indexed here (i. e. in folios 1-5), for though they show the portions noted in the contents, there are remarkable discrepancies between the text as preserved in these folios and the contents. These folios discuss *Mandala*, *sthāna* (both these are not found in the contents) *tālaprānas*, *kālalaksana*, *mārgalaksana* (which has 16 divisions here while the contents note 16 divisions under *mārgapūrāna bhedaḥ*). Then these folios sub-divide *kriyā* etc. in the details of which there are striking differences.

	these folios	contents
kriyā ...	8	16
anga .	5	6
graha .	4	6
jāti ...	4	5
laya ...	3	4
yati ..	3	6
prastāra ...	4	4

Then there are named 71 tālas, their laghugurunirṇaya, samkirpatālas (at the end of which occurs kohalamate samkirṇajātī-tālān), slādinām laghugurunirṇaya, aṣṭavidhanāyikā, and daṣa-vidhacumbana (which does not occur in the contents).

I, therefore, believe that folios 34-47 do not preserve the same work as contained in folios 1-33.

Fol. 46-47 contain some fragment giving instructions for the commencement of the drama, which has no place in the contents

Fol. 48a begins citrādhyāya of the present Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, with, however, verses 74, 75a, 78, 85-131 (of the printed text as in Nirṇayasāgara edition) missing here. This brings the Ms. to fol. 51a, where the following note is found : iti bhāratīyoktacitrābhīnayaḥ samāptaḥ.

Fol. 51a to 58 have a description of hastas, mostly asamyuta, the treatment of which is not identical with Bharata's, though similar to his. Fol. 58 to 61 give definitions of the viniyoga of asamyuta hands, which, too, do not tally with Bharata's, though following it in general.

Moreover, fol. 1-33 regularly give colophons to different Adhyāyas, but the remaining folios have no such colophons.

For all these reasons I believe that this Ms. contains fragments of different works.

Now I shall try to identify the work contained in folios 1-33. The contents which occupy fol. 1-5 end with the remark, ' etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram, asya granthasya nāma nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. ' I should note, here, that according to the contents, this work has five skandhas, each divided in several adhyāyas and each adhyāya in several prakarṇas, total number of adhyāyas being 32 and that of prakarṇas being 221. And the folios 6-33 contain the first adhyāya almost intact and two adhyāyas of the second skandha. Remaining portion of the work is missing here. The introductory portion in the beginning of the first adhyāya of the first skandha has a remark : vyākartumādibharatam sphutamārābhāmi. This prefatory adhyāya, which also enumerates in verse form the

contents of the work, substantially agreeing with the contents noted in folios 1-5, occupies folios 6-11. This first adhyāya shows a mixture of prose and verses.

In spite of the clear mention at the end of the contents— *asya granthasya nāma nātyasarvasvadīpikā* — I doubt that folios 11-13 contain the first chapter of Ādibharata itself. My reasons are stated below. But before I attempt at giving these reasons, I shall note the colophons to different adhyāyas contained in these folios.

iti śrī ādibharataśāstre samavāyaskandhe nātyasarvasvadīpikāyām sabhoddharaperanyāntastaprakaraṇam nāma dvitīyo'dhyāyah.

Colophon to the third adhyāya also has the same ... ādibharate samavāyaskandhe nātyasarvasvadīpikāyām ...

Fourth adhyāya is missing in these folios, and the fifth has the following colophon :

ittham racito'tra bharate mahāpañcamastvāndhravacordhva-
vihito budhenātha athāya (?) varonvedapadassatīko (?) hi rāja
nārāyanasiddhasivayogināthena samamanvayapadena ramyam
hi (?) iti pañcamassargah.

Sixth adhyāya ends with this colophon :

nārāyanah siddhasīvaśrīrāmānandayogirājena

racito bharatosastho'dhyāyaśca svayapadārthapattikā (?)
nārāyaṇasiddhasīvarāmānandayogirājaviracite ādibharate nātya-
nātyāṅga sāmāgryādi hastādidevatām saptaprakaraṇanirūpaṇam
nāma saṣṭho'dhāyah.

Here ends the samavāyaskandha and begins the śikṣāskandha, colophons to the first and the second adhyāyas of which are, *mutatis mutandis* the same as seen at the end of the first and second adhyāyas of the samavāyaskandha.

Apparent conclusion, from the above colophons and the introductory remark — *vyākartum ādibharatam sphutamārābhāmi* — would be that the present folios must contain Nātyasarvasva-

dīpikā of Rāmānanda Yogirāja, which in its turn should be a commentary on Ādibharata. But the title Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā suggests the existence of a work named Nāṭyasarvasva on which it may have commented. This is supported by the fact that these folios have a double copy of folios 12-14, of which one continues the present work, while the other one bears a marginal caption Nāṭyasarvasvam. I, therefore, take these two, out-of-place folios to contain a fragment of Nāṭyasarvasvam, the commentary on which was probably designated as Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā.

Now the text preserved in folios 1-33 shows peculiar characteristics for a commentary¹. It runs in Anustup metre, varied very rarely, by other metres. It does not quote any other author. It does not give tīkā or anvayapada. A commentary is usually expected to show all these characteristics. In fact, apart from the colophons and the contents which mention Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā, there is no internal indication to show that these folios contain Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. On a careful consideration of the text, I doubt that these folios contain Ādibharata. My reasons are :

(1) Colophon to the sixth adhyāya of the Samavāyaskandha, clearly takes this work to be Ādibharata, though I am not prepared to stress this point too much, for the obvious reason that this and the colophon to the fifth adhyāya are in direct conflict with the remaining colophons.

(2) The portion in these folios exhibit a running style, much similar to our printed Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, and a confident treatment of the subjects, which may be seen in an authoritative work.

(3) Mr. Manamohan Ghose has during the course of an article,² drawn our attention to the quotations from Ādibharata found in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary to Śākuntala. He has given passages quoted under the name of Ādibharata by Rāghava-

1 Following information is found in the Ms. : वैद्यपमंत्रितनयः कोकिलाम्बातनूभवः ।
नारायणः सिद्धशिवयोगिराजो विराजते ॥ चरकोटिकलापुडिचंशजः ब्रह्मवेत्ता असकल-
सुकल श्रीमत्संगोत्रः कवीन्द्रः (fol. 8, l. 1-3).

2 See Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1930, p. 72.

bhatta under three heads : (1) those that are found in the present Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, (2) those that have parallels in it and (3) those that are not seen there. Under (2) is quoted the following passage :

सभ्यास्तु विबुधैर्ज्ञेया य दिदृक्षान्विता जनाः ।
मध्यस्था सावधानाश्च वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
त्रुटितां त्रुटिताभिज्ञा विनयानम्रकन्धराः ।
अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यत्रितयकोविदाः ।
असद्वादिनिषेद्धारश्चतुरा मत्सरच्छिदाः ।
अमन्दरसनित्यन्दहृदया भूषणोज्ज्वलाः ।
सुवेषा भोगिनी (?) नानाभाषावीर (?) विशारदाः ।
स्वस्वोचितस्थानसुस्थास्तत् प्रशंसापरायणाः ।

Śakuntala, Nir. S. p. 9.

Following is the parallel passage found in the present NS.

चारित्र्याभिजनोपेताः शान्तिवृत्तश्रुतान्विताः ।
यशोधर्मरताश्चैव मध्यस्था वयसान्विताः ।
षडङ्गनाट्यकुशला अलुब्धाः शुचयः समाः ।
चतुरातोयकुशला नेपथ्यज्ञा सुधार्मिकाः ।
देशभाषाविधानज्ञाः कलाशिल्पविचक्षणाः ।
चतुर्धाभिनयज्ञाश्च सूक्ष्मज्ञा रसभावयोः ।
शब्दच्छन्दोविधानज्ञाः नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ।
एवंविधास्तु कर्तव्या प्रेक्षका (प्राश्निका) नाट्यदर्शने ।

NS. KM. XXVII, 47-50.

Now compare the following almost identical passage found in the text contained in these folios (fol. 13^a line 2-6) :

आस्थानस्थेययोग्यानां लक्षणं प्रवदाम्यहम् ।
मध्यस्थाः सावधानाः स्युः वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
त्रुटितात्रुटिताभिज्ञा विनयानतकंधराः ।
अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यभेदविचक्षणाः ।
असद्वादिनिरोद्धारः चतुरामरच्छिदाः ।
दयालवः सुशीलाश्च सुवस्त्राभरणोज्ज्वलाः ।
अमन्दरागनिष्क्रान्तहृदयस्थानसंस्थिताः ।

I have not been able to trace any other quotation given by Mr. M. Ghose ; and though the text as preserved here runs only upto the middle of the second skandha (out of the five skandhas), I am not prepared to say that all these references noted by Mr.

M. Ghose under (1), (2) and (3), would be found in the remaining portions of the text : for, the references recorded by Mr. M. Ghose show that the work *Ādibharata* as understood by Rāghavabhaṭṭa treated among other things of *avasthās*, *samdhis* etc., while *Ādibharata* as noted in these folios cannot possibly treat of any such topic, as, it remarks (fol. 10a, l. 6-10) :

भरता बहुधा सन्ति नान्दिसारस्वदादयः ।
 तेषां प्रमाणमादिश्व भरतस्स उमापातिः ।
 अत एवादिभरतप्रकारं नटनं स्मृतं ।
 नाटकास्तु कथाप्राया दशरूपकसंज्ञकाः ।
 शैल्यसूत्रधाराद्यैः पुनिकाप्रतिमादिभिः ।
 वेषभाषाविकारादिकल्पनाभिर्बहुकृताः ।
 तस्माद् बुधस्य नृत्यस्य प्रमाणं न भवन्ति ते ।
 नटनं नाटिकानां च तेषां कारणमेव हि ।
 तस्मान्नाटयस्य शुद्धांगं शास्त्रसिद्धं प्रवक्ष्यति ।

This quotation apparently believes that *Nātakas* and other varieties of *rūpaka* have no place in this text, which should have treated of *nrtta*, and *nrtya* but not *nātya*, (as understood by Daśa-rūpakam). This is completely borne out by the contents noted in folios 1-5, where no *rūpakaprakāra* or no other matter usually found in our *nātyaśāstra* works, occurs, and which expressly states - *etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram*. Evidently, this contradictory nature - that one passage quoted under *Ādibharata* and not found in our printed NS., should be seen here and that other passages quoted under *Ādibharata* have no apparent place in this work - may stop us from taking this fragment to represent *Ādibharata*. But I cannot be positive. My whole object is to collect data and to leave the question about the identity of the work open.

(4) That these folios do not contain *Nātyasarvasvadīpikā* is borne out by another line of argument. I have already noted that as far as the general style of the work contained herein is concerned, it represents a flowing epic style, free from any prose or poetic explanations. And though it is difficult to determine the connection between *Ādibharata* and *Nātyasarvasvadīpikā*, I put the following before the readers : folios 12-14 are found twice in this Ms., and those that are out of place, show that they

treat of tālas. Also folios 34-47 contain a treatment of tālas as noted above ; but both these portions are not the same as detailed in the contents. Now both these portions - the additional folios 12-14 and folios 37-47 - begin with the following benedictory stanza :

Visnum lokagurum pranamya śirasā sanmārgasaṁdarsakam
kīrtiprītikaram janasya laghunā kālena kāmāpradam
sevyam sadyatibhih dhrtaplutapadam nyāsottalokatrayam
tālānām kathayāmi laksanamaham pūrvoktasāstrakramāt

In spite of this identical benedictory stanza, the matter seen at both these places, though treating of tālas, is different, one probably representing Nāṭyasarvasva and the other, the dīpikā thereon. My reason for so saying is that the additional folios 12-14, which contain the stanza as well as the tālalaksana, bear a marginal caption - Nāṭyasarvasvam - , which, therefore, may represent that work. Folios 34-47 bear a marginal caption - hastādhyāya - which is obviously wrong as they treat of tālas only. From the style of these folios (34-37) one can say that they may represent the dīpikā, for there are found prose explanations, quotations from other works on the same subject etc., which are the usual indications of a commentary.

It is on these grounds that I doubt folios 1-33 to contain a portion of Ādibharata, or, at least, to show a new light on the question of Ādibharata.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

VII

A MANUSCRIPT OF SAMGĪTARĀGAKALPADRUMA AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Aufrecht mentions in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* only one Ms. of a work on music under the title संगीतरागकल्पद्रुम. This is "Bd. 980", which is the same as No. 980 of 1887-91 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms. consists of 31 folios and is incomplete. Folios 1 to 9 which comprise one chapter of the manuscript may possibly have been a later interpolation based on the 3rd chapter of the *Samgītaratnākara*. This chapter commences with the following statement indicating that the material has been borrowed from the *Samgītaratnākara* :—

“अथ श्रीकृष्णानंदव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीत-सहितायां प्रकीर्णाध्यायप्रारंभ(भोऽ)स्य तथाच संगीतरत्नाकरे.” On folio 9 we get the following colophon of this Chapter :—

“इति श्रमद्वय(श्रीमदनवय)विद्याविनोदश्रीकरुणाधिपतिःश्रीसोढलदेवनंदनश्री-मल्लिकेश(श्रीमन्निःशङ्क) श्रीशाङ्गिदेव(श्रीशाङ्गदेव)विरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्ण-काध्यायस्तृतीयः इति श्रीकृष्णानंदव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतराग-कल्पद्रुमे संगीतायां(संगीतसहितायां) संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥”

After this some-what extraneous matter the real beginning of the *Samgītakalpadruma* is indicated by the following lines :—

श्रीअमरानंदव्यासदेवतस्यात्मजश्रीहीरानंदव्यासदेव तस्यात्मजश्रीकृष्णानंद-व्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथप्रारंभः । अथ मंगलाचरण । देवी सरस्वतीं नत्वा गणेशं हरिमिश्रं । रागकल्पद्रुमं ग्रंथं कुरुते रागसागरः¹ ॥

1 “रागसागर” appears to be an honorific title of कृष्णानंदवेदव्यास. This is borne out by the line “कृष्णानंदवेदव्यासरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथ-प्रारंभः”. There does not seem to be any necessity to suppose that the expression “रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुम” is to be taken entirely in the metaphorical sense, for we have such combinations as “दयानंदविद्यासागर” to justify the conclusion that रागसागर is an honorific title affixed to the name कृष्णानंद वेदव्यास,

In the above quotations the scribe appears to have confounded the epithet वेदव्यास with व्यासदेव. The correct epithet appears to have been वेदव्यास as is clear from the following verses which tell us that the author's name was कृष्णानन्द. He was the son of हीरकानन्द (or हीरानन्द) and grandson of अमरानन्द. The family name appears to have been वेदव्यास —

Folio 10 — “ पौत्रोहममरानन्दवेदव्यासद्विजन्मनः ।

पुत्रश्च हीरकानन्दवेदव्यासस्यधीमतः ॥

कृष्णानन्दमिधोवेदव्यासोत्तत्वासरस्वती ।

रागकल्पद्रुमं नाम कुर्वे ग्रंथं सतां मुदे ॥ ”

On folio 18, another chapter appears to commence with the same ग्रंथारंभ and मंगलाचरण as on folio 9. Subsequent matter of this new chapter appears to have been interspersed with verses which already appear in the previous chapter. However, the new chapter does not look like being a mere duplicate of the old one. Another colophon appears on fol. 27 :—

“ इति श्री कृष्णानन्द संगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे इन्द्रप्रस्थीययुधिष्ठिरश्रीकृष्ण-
मतानुयायी रागरागिणीपुत्रवधूरागउपरागसमयसंपूर्णे ॥ ”

After this colophon begins तालाध्याय which is introduced with the lines “ श्रीकृष्णानन्दव्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीतरत्नाकरे संगीतसंहितायां तालाध्यायः and तालानां कथयामिलक्षणमिदं पूर्वोक्तशास्त्रे स्मृतम् । ”. The available portion of this incomplete तालाध्याय is covered up by folios 27 to 31.

The Ms. mentions among other references the following authors and works :—

- (1) आञ्जनेय (fol. 12, 20, 28); (2) चूडामाण (fol. 28); (3) नारद-
संगीत (fol. 22); (4) नारदसंहिता (fol. 10, 20); (5) नारायणसंगीत (fol.
10); (6) बृहत्संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 22); (7) ब्रह्मसंगीत (fol. 10); (8)
भरतमत (fol. 22); (9) मणिदर्पण (fol. 28); (10) रत्नाकर (fol. 28);
(11) विज्ञानश्वर (fol. 10, 27); विष्णुपुराण (fol. 10, 19); (12) शिवसंगीत
(fol. 10); (13) शिवकिंकर (fol. 28); (14) शिवसंगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 10);
(15) संगीतभाष्य (fol. 10, 19); (16) संगीतनारायण (fol. 10)¹; (17)

1 Journ. Andhra His. Res. Society—Vol. III, 2, 3, 4.—

p. 205 — “ संगीतनारायण, a work of the 18th century by Nārāyaṇa of the Gāṅga family ”

p. 206 — “ About A. D. 1750 Nārāyaṇadeva issued संगीतनारायण in five chapters etc. ”

संगीतदर्पण (fol. 10, 22); (18) संगीतलक्ष्मीनारायण (fol. 10) (19) संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 19); (20) संगीतमहोदध (fol. 19, 20); (21) संगीतसहिता (fol. 21); (22) संगीतसार (fol. 22), which may be the work by विद्यारण्य quoted in संगीतनारायण of the Nārāyaṇa of the गाङ्गा family; (23) संगीतचंद्रिका (fol. 22) mentioned in संगीतसुधा of Raghunātha of Tanjore about 1620 A. D. (JAHS. III, 2, 3, 4 p. 204); (24) संगीतसि(सिं)धु (fol. 22); (25) संगीतपारिजात (fol. 22); (26) संगीताणव (fol. 27); (27) सरस्वतासंगीत (fol. 10); (28) हृदयमन्मथ (fol. 22).

In the above list of references, the references to संगीतनारायण and संगीतपारिजात prove that the present work is a late compilation from many works on Saṃgīta referred to by the author. The chronology of many of these works is uncertain. We can, however, fix the probable time of this compilation from the mention of संगीतपारिजात on fol. 22. The approximate time of the work as fixed by Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar¹ is the latter half of the 17th century (A. D. 1650 to 1700 A. D.). As Saṃgītapārijāta has not been much made use of in the present compilation it must have been a somewhat fresh work at the time. Perhaps it attained importance later and was translated into Persian in A. D. 1724. The reference to the संगीतनारायण on fol. 10, if it has reference to a work of that name by नारायणदेव in five chapters issued about A. D. 1750², still takes the date of composition of the *Samgītarāga-kalpādruma* to a period immediately following A. D. 1750. If the dates of the संगीतपारिजात and the संगीतनारायण as fixed above are regarded as correct we can assign the संगीतकल्पद्रुम of रुष्णानंददेवदयासरगसागर to a period between 1750 A. D. and 1800 A. D.

1. Vide his article on "Ancient Hindu Music", IA. XLI (1912), p. 160 — "Ahobala's *Samgīta-pārijāta* — This work was translated into Persian in the year 1137 A. H. or A. D. 1724 this work represents a later stage in the development of Music than the last treatise, and I have assigned it, therefore, to the latter half of the 17th century approximately."

2. JAHS — III, 2, 3, 4 — p. 206.

VIII

RASAVILĀSA OF BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA AND ITS PROBABLE DATE -- ABOUT A. D. 1550

Dr. S. K. De mentions *Rasa-vilāsa*¹ of Bhūdeva Śukla among minor works on alamkāra literature and remarks that he "belongs to the 16th century." The following evidence not only corroborates Dr. De's remarks but enables us to fix the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa*. On an examination of the two Mss.² of the work in the Govt. Mss. Library in the B. O. R. Institute, I find that Bhūdeva Śukla quotes³ from *Śrīvatsalāñchana*, who is evidently the commentator of Mammata. As regards the date of *Śrīvatsalāñchana* Dr. De observes⁴ that he "cannot be earlier than the 14th century" but "is earlier than the 17th century, being quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A. D.) and Jagannātha". These remarks, however, are not sufficient to enable us to fix the probable date of *Rasavilāsa*. Mr. P. V. Kane refers⁵ in his History of Alamkāra Literature, to a Ms. of the *Kāvya-parīkṣā* of Śrīvatsalāñchana which is dated 1550 A. D. This date proves that Śrīvatsalāñchana must have written his *Kāvya-parīkṣā* before 1550 A. D. The *Kāvya-parīkṣā* is an "independent work by Śrīvatsalāñchana which deals with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammata". The facts that (i) *Rasavilāsa* quotes from Śrīvatsalāñchana's work⁶ and that (ii) there is a Ms. of one of Śrīvatsa's works dated 1550 A. D. lead us to infer that *Rasavilāsa* is a work written about A. D. 1550. We may, therefore, fix A. D. 1550 as the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa* of Bhūdeva Śukla.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 305.

2. No. 594 of 1887-91 and No. 337 of 1884-86.

3. Ms. No. 337 of 1884-86, folio 3—"तदुक्तं श्रीवत्सलान्छनेन ।

सवासनानां सभ्यानां रसस्यास्वादनं भवेत् ।

निर्वासनाः शाब्दिकाद्याः काष्टलोटाश्मसन्निभाः ॥ "

also "चिरमिति व्यभिचारिवारणायैति श्रीवत्सलान्छनः "

4. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 178.

5. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 2nd edition, 1923, Introduction, (Index of Works), p. CLXV — No. 187.

6. The verse quoted above may be either from *Kāvya-parīkṣā* or from his commentary on Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa*. I have not identified it.

IX

A COMMENTARY ON THE KUMĀRA-SĀMBHAVA, BY HARICARANĀDĀSA, CALLED DEVASENĀ AND ITS PROBABLE DATE -- BETWEEN 1630 AND 1680 A.D.

Aufrecht¹ records only one Ms. of a commentary by Haricaranaḍāsa called Devasenā, viz. "Peters 1. 114". This Ms. is the same as No. 37 of A. 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The commentary is for cantos I and II only. In the colophon of Canto I on folio 14, as also in the colophon for Canto II on the last folio 24 we are told that the commentary देवसेना was composed by हरिचरणदास who is also styled in the 1st colophon as 'राधाकृष्णचरणकमलसेवि' - an epithet which is only a paraphrase of the author's name हरिचरणदास. That the author was a devotee of Hari is clear from the following stanzas at the beginning of the Ms. :—

“सकलविघ्नविनाशकरेकरे दधतमाशुहरिहरिणीदृशे ।
अरुणरागभरोष्टुटे हितं विदधतं सुखरं सुशिरं भजे ॥ १ ॥
नाय नायं प्रति कृष्णं भावं भावं युरोर्वचः ।
देवसेनां कुमारस्य हरिष्टीकां तनोत्यस्मू ॥ २ ॥”

Among authors and works referred to in the commentary the following are to be noted :— अमरः (fols. 1, 2, 3) ; हैमः (fols. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 24) ; रामाश्रमाचार्य (fol. 1) ; भागवत (एकादशस्कंध) (fol. 2) ; वैजयंती (fol. 4) ; विश्वः (fols. 5, 6, 10) ; मेदिनी (fol. 7).

These references clearly show that it is not a very old commentary. In particular the following reference to रामाश्रमाचार्य enables us to fix us one terminus for the date of the commentary :

“रामाश्रमाचार्येणापि नक्षत्रसूक्ष्मं भं इत्याद्यै
भमित्यस्यसाधने अन्यत्र ग्रहणादनेनैव मः कृतः” etc.

The above comment has reference to the commentary² of Bhānu Dikṣita alias Rāmāśrama on the following line of verse 21 in the Amarakośa (First Kāṇḍa) :—

“नक्षत्रसूक्ष्मं भं तारा तारकाप्युद्ध वा स्त्रियाम् ।”

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1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1, 110 b.
 2. *Amarakośa* with commentary Vākyasadhā or Rāmāśramī of Bhānujī Dikṣita, son of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita (Nirṇayasagar Press, Bombay, 1915), p. 37.

This identification proves that the present commentary was composed after the commentary of Bhānu Dikṣita on the Amarakośa. Bhānu Dikṣita or Rāmāśrama was the son of Bhattoji Dikṣita, whose date is about A. D. 1630.¹ Satvarāja, a disciple of Rāmāśrama wrote in 1641 A. D.² We may, therefore, conclude from these facts that Bhānu Dikṣita flourished between A. D. 1630 and 1641 and as Haricaranadāsa refers to Bhānuji Dikṣita's commentary on the Amarakośa in his present commentary Devasenā we must suppose that the latter was composed after 1641 A. D.

Another limit to the above date may be furnished by the following facts, if the underlying identity of authorship presumed by us is correct : Haraprasāda Shāstri describes a work called *युतवृन्दावनरहस्य* in his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*³ It is ascribed to one हरिचरण and is in Bengālī characters. Its subject is mentioned as "वैष्णवशास्त्र". The Ms is dated Śaka 1602 (= A. D. 1680). The name हरिचरणदास appears to have a Bengālī tinge about it and if he is identical with the हरिचरण who composed the *युतवृन्दावनरहस्य* as I presume him to be, we may be justified in the inference that the commentary *Devasenā* of *Haricaranadāsa* was composed between A. D. 1641 and 1680 or towards the middle of the 17th century.

1. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915, p. 47.

2. *Ibid*, p. 48 — Genealogical table.

3. *Second Series*, Vol. I, 1900, p. 90— Ms No. 95.

EXACT DATE OF NAUKĀ OF GĀNGĀRĀMA JADĪ

(COM. ON THE RASATARANGINĪ OF BHĀNUDATTĀ)

— 1742 A. D.

Dr. S. K. De states¹ that the commentary Naukā by Gāṅgārāma Jadī on the Rasataranginī of Bhānudatta is “dated in 1732 A. D.” In another place² he remarks that Gāṅgārāma Jadī “belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century”. I am not aware of the evidence on which Dr. De bases these statements. Presumably, however, it refers to the chronogram given by the author of the commentary at the end of the work. In a Ms.³ of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute the relevant verses containing the chronogram run as under :—

“ गंगाधरस्य गंगेव विष्णोर्विष्णुपदीव वा ।

नौकाबुधाविनाभूः स्ताद्रीर्वागीर्वाण गौरवी ॥ ६ ॥

ग्रहांकनगपृथ्व्यंके १७९९ नौकागिरसिवत्सरे ।

एकद्वित्रिचतुः श्लोका ४३२१ गंगारामेण पुरिता ॥ ७ ॥”

Now the chronogram (ग्रह, अंक, नग, पृथ्वी) is equal to the figures 9,9,7,1, which when read in the inverse order give us Samvat 1799 as the date of compilation of the work. In fact the figures 1799 are actually to be found in the Ms. as shown in the above verse. The date of Naukā as based on the above chronogram is A. D. 1742 and not 1732 as stated by Dr. De. I am not sure if “1732” is a misprint for “1742” in Dr. De’s book under reference. In the Errata at the end of Dr. De’s book this date is not corrected, in case it is a misprint.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 253.

2. *Ibid*, p. 291.

3. No. 113 of 1919-24.

REVIEWS

MYSTERY OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, VOL. I, BY N. V.

THADANI, Published by BHARAT PUBLISHING HOUSE,
KARACHI

It is one thing to conceive an idea, and quite another to work it out thoroughly. Even in the ordinary routine of daily life, scores of ideas crowd an imaginative head, but almost all — if not ALL — as readily disappear to give place to different new-comers. A few, perchance, do cling to their place of birth, with a hope of growth and their final appearance, in full concrete form in the outer world of existence. Of these lingering few, one or two sufficiently force themselves, and compel the person to work. But even these, after a little of actual labour, tire the person, and he throws away the task half-done, growing despondent of the drudgery attaching thereto. So, to work out an idea completely, is, in itself, a matter of no small credit to the worker. The world may or may not appreciate and accept his work, but he is there all the while silently drudging on at his self-imposed task.

Prof. Thadani's is a labour of this type. One can easily conceive the illimitable patience that the learned author had to practise, in systematically working out his problem and bringing it out in the form of a book, the first volume of which, has only recently been presented to the public, and the second, as the author promises, is to follow shortly. The real explanation of the mystery of the Mahābhārata, is, we learn from the preface, to appear in the forth-coming second volume; and the Introduction only supplies us an outline of what it is to be. The first volume of the work, as it were, is meant to prepare us for the reading of the second, and explains the thesis of the author, as far as the Vedas are concerned — or, more properly, in author's own words in the preface, — “the first volume ends with the Gods of the Vedas”; and yet, this alone covers no less than 500 pages !!

The origin of the work, as stated by the author, in the beginning of the Introduction, lay in "the idea of the MBh. as a great picture of a great Philosophy of life," occurring to him "almost like a dream". But the dream was not allowed to pass unnoticed. He "pursued it for nearly eight years," and we have as the result, the work under review.

So, Prof. Thadani has worked his interpretations, apparently, from the Great Epic back to the Vedas, though the actual presentation of the theme, as we gather from the volume in hand, is to be quite the reverse. Howsoever that be, the new idea has been placed before the reader in all the details, and to follow them in the proper spirit, he is, to start with, asked by the author to forget what we have, so long learnt to think of our sacred literature, especially about the MBh., that it is a history--'itihāsa'-- giving the story of the great fight on the Kuruksetra. To put it in the author's own words: "the Sacred books ... deal with the one problem of all problems -- the truth of the life conceived in various ways. ... And all this can be demonstrated by means of the ancient method of interpretation, based on the analysis of words and names. ... " The author, in the present work, has, according to this ancient method, dealt with only the Vedas and the MBh.", but, believing that "no student of the original work of the Hindus can lightly dismiss this interpretation," Prof. Thadani has asked others to volunteer their assistance in this huge work initiated by him, as, "the principal Sanskrit works will *all* require a new interpretation; not only in mass, but in data."

Modern Oriental scholarship of the Europeans, followed by Indians, has, for more than the last half century, put all the ancient Hindu literature, to a minute scrutiny, and gleaned historical facts pertaining to the Indian people. Thus, apart from the philosophy contained therein, we have before us a connected real story of the Vedic people, how they actually lived and fared, where they came from, who the Dasyūṣ were whom they had to fight with, and so on. The MBh. being understood to be an 'itihāsa' -- history -- first, is naturally read in that light, and we weep at the lamentations of the grieved there, jump with the fire

in Bhīma, look with awe upon Bhīṣma and Drona — in short, we treat the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas, nay, even Śrī Kṛṣṇa, as *real* human beings, who like us, had their span of life in the mortal world, shared the joys and sorrows as we do even now, and so our hearts respond in sympathy towards whatever they say or do, — and now we are asked to turn to the ancient method of interpretation and treat the Epic story as an allegory depicting the contest between the different systems of thought, such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, etc.

This, of course, with regard to what an ordinary reader would say; but the fact is, there are really very few people, who would readily pick up and follow any thing beyond the beaten path. And still, Prof. Thadani's work has an interest and importance in the light referred to above.

It would be interesting to note here, that there have been a few scholars — although only a few — who have been in the field that Prof. Thadani has entered, putting forth the hypothesis that the whole, or a part of the Great Epic is an allegory, and Prof. Winternitz, in reviewing Mr. Dahlmann's *Mahābhārata*, has conveniently summed up all. Referring to Mr. Dahlmann's hypothesis that "the marriage of the five Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, the embodiment of the goddess Śrī, is nothing but a *symbolical* representation of the joint possession of the common property belonging to the undivided family", the great MBh. Scholar goes on: "What Th. Goldstucker objects against Lassen's allegorical explanation of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī, holds good against all similar explanations, such as M. Bergaigne's mythical, and Mr. Dahlmann's symbolical explanation." "Either polyandry existed as an institution when this allegory was made — in that case there is no ground for considering a polyandric marriage as an improbable event in the history of the Pāṇḍavas themselves — or it as little existed in their time as in the later history of India. *In that case however, it would have offended the national sentiment, and no allegory of this kind could have entered a poet's mind, or obtained currency,*" ... "epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and

curious feature in the life of its heroes, to be changed," and lastly, "... from every point of view the story of Draupadi and the five Pāṇḍavas has to be regarded as an ancient tradition illustrating an *actual* state of society, and in that sense as a "*real piece of history*", and certainly not (as Mr. Dahlmann thinks) an invention of some teacher of law, who wanted to illustrate his legal theories by a fanciful symbolical marriage of five men ... Everybody ... will agree ... that the MBh. could never have become the national epic of India, if it had been merely an illustration of Dharmaśāstra with all its legal anti-quities."

To return to the volume in hand, a glance at the contents would give us a fair idea of what the work aims at; but before proceeding in that line it would be better to peep into the Introduction, where the author starts with "As it is in the cell, so it is in the Brahmanḍa", as the sole basis for his interpretation: "According to this idea, the Sanskrit language itself is conceived as a picture of the Brahmanḍa, reproducing by means of its vowels and consonants, general structure, sandhi rules and grammatical forms, the idea of the nucleus, cytoplasm, centrosomes and chromosomes of the cell, and the form, action and interaction of its constituent parts; so that each expression, word or letter might be the mirror of a great science, a great philosophy, and a great religion all united together in one Truth." This has been explained at great length in the major portion of this volume,-- the cell (ch. III), the Golden Egg, or the Brahmanḍa (ch. IV), physical science as found in our literature, (ch. V), the origin and character of Sanskrit (ch. VI); and it is in ch. VII that we come across the method of interpretation, as put forth by the author, and with authority too, to back him.

Without going into details, which form the lot of the student and reader, and not of the reviewer, a few interesting interpretations may be given: Kāla, analysed according to the ecliptic method, denotes the cycle of Buddhi or the Sun completed in Prakritic Ether; similarly Gaja denotes the relation of Puruṣic Prakritic Ether,

Karna, of the Mahābhārata which latter, is "great treatise on the subject matter of Breath or Prāna ..." represents all seed, the essence of vegetable kingdom or the vegetable kingdom itself; while Kunti, analysed into Kum and ti, gives the meaning Earth for the former, and iti, meaning, 'that is to say' for the latter part of the word. So that we have Kunti standing for the Earth, a meaning further strengthened by her other name Prthā, identical with Prthivī, the Earth. According to the author, the Pāndavas of whom, Arjuna, like Indra, stands for Heart-energy, likewise, represent the animal kingdom; "and as our planet consists of all the five elements and is characterised by the energy of the Sun and the moon, both the kingdoms of life are conceived as born of her."

I purposely desist from making any reference to the author's different interpretations regarding the characters and their activities in the Mahābhārata, given with some detail in his Introduction, as, according to the promise of the author himself, his second volume mainly deals with the Great Epic, and it would be but right to look into the real mystery of the Mahābhārata when we have that promised volume in hand.

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, critically edited by P. P. S. SASTRI,
Vol. I, Parts 1 & 2, published by V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU
& SONS, MADRAS

Among India's glorious literary heritage the Mahābhārata, the great Epic of India, as Professor E. W. Hopkins styled it, occupies a foremost place as a finished piece of literary composition, a superb didactic work and as the accredited source of ancient historical tradition. The materials which it contains being invaluable to the students of history and philosophy, not to speak of literature, have compelled the International School of Oriental Scholars to focus their attention on the get up of a really critical edition based on almost all available manuscripts so as to make it a complete whole. Such an edition of rare value has been undertaken by the well known Oriental Institute of India, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona.

Coming nearer home the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, which we hear is out of print, supplied the longfelt need for a book of that kind in the south of India. There is still the need for handy volumes of the Mahābhārata which will be easily portable and can be handled with ease for ready reference. This is now satisfied by the enterprising publishing firm of Madras, Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras. It has been decided to publish the full work in a series of volumes, of which two parts are already out. They are edited by Professor P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras. There is clear evidence of the great care bestowed by Prof. Sastri in editing this work. This seems to be an endeavour to bring out a south Indian recension of the Mahābhārata and to this extent the learned editor has utilised five important manuscripts. From what one can gather from the two parts before us, there is no doubt that the work will be accorded a popular welcome and will be an invaluable and useful addition to the editions already in the market. The value of the work is very much enhanced by a table of contents giving a running summary of important incidents and an index indispensable to research scholars.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

PRĀṆĀYAMA (PART I) BY SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA,
Published by Kaivalyadhāma—Lonaola, priced at Rs. 2-8,
Pp. 156.

In ancient India our ancestors built up a civilisation peculiar to this country. Their main efforts were concentrated on the attainment of the highest perfection and "liberation" of the human soul. By itself it was the most laudable aim. The individual soul is a part of the universal soul. This realisation of unity or oneness of the Jivātman with Paramātman had to be realised. For this purpose they evolved a highly elaborate system of Yoga, consisting of physical and psychical processes which would help the individual to discover his inner essence and thus get absorbed in the Supreme. Life was not so complicated then, so the individual could spend the greater part of it in the realisation of this aim. Detailed treatises were compiled for the guidance of the seekers after this Truth. But the political upheavals, that history records, put this wonderful education and training in the background. During the Muslim rule even the study of Sanskrit became a clandestine affair. Most of the Sanskrit literature became extinct. In modern times the individual has become so much absorbed in political and economic struggle that he has almost forgotten that he has a soul. Even the body, the vehicle of the soul is neglected. This is due to the all-pervading influence of western civilisation. Darwin, the greatest scientist of the age, gave us the theory of the evolution of the species. Herbert Spencer developed the idea. But no one has paid the slightest attention to the evolution of the mind and the soul, which are the real powers behind the body. But now a reaction is setting in. Indians, specially, are now realising that the time has come for them to pay attention to their souls the only thing that belongs to them and which no one can take away from them. We might reasonably and proudly call it the renaissance of the Indian thought — Ramakrishna and Vivekananda set in ball rolling. Now the task has been seriously taken up by Mr. Gune, better known as Swamī Kuvalayananda.

For reviving what is best in the Indian civilisation he is the most suited person, with his high education, love of truth, honesty of purpose, respect for learning, devotion to humanity and an utter disregard of materialism. The only reward that he possibly expects for his efforts and labour is the satisfaction that he has been of some service to his fellow human beings. He is trying to spread this knowledge among as many people as he possibly can. With this end in view he has started a quarterly Journal under the name of *Yoga-Mīmāṃsā*, in which are embodied the results of his research work in this subject. The book under review is one of the popular series intended for laymen, who want to start physical exercises which would have the way for spiritual advancement. It might come to that or might not. By itself the course of physical culture given herein is a great boon to humanity.

The most prevalent human ailments, which are the curses of the modern civilisation are (1) tuberculosis, (2) digestive disorders and (3) nervous troubles. Other diseases take their source from them.

Tuberculosis is the result of living in crowded towns. In modern times an open air life has become almost impossible. Even outdoor exercise has become a luxury. The lungs do not get enough of Oxygen and hence are weakened. This leads to the deadly disease, from which the mortality is very high in India and in the west. The respiratory organs require a great deal of Oxygen taken from fresh air to ward off these dangers to health. *Prāṇāyāma* supplies the requisite amount of Oxygen to the lungs, which keeps them in perfect condition. Proper respiration can be admirably secured by the exercises that go under the names of *Ujjayi* — *Kapalbhati* and *Bhastris*, so well described in this book.

The disorders of the digestive organs are caused by sedentary work, lack of proper exercise and unwholesome food. This leads to the commonest trouble of constipation. In its turn it gives birth to various grave ailments. Perhaps it would be true to say that more than half of the troubles that human body suffers from, arise from the disorder of the stomach. Certain exercises described herein, specially *Kapalbhati* and *Bhastrika*, give the

much needed exercise to the abdominal muscles. The Colon gets the necessary pressure to evacuate itself. The bowels are thus made to move freely. This tends to keep the digestive system in perfect condition.

Owing to the worry and strain of modern life, nervous troubles are very common. Every day we read of innumerable medicines and drugs advertised in the European papers for curing the jaded nerves. The author rightly claims that the Prānāyāma exercises would ward off nervous disorders. The blood is first enriched in Oxygen and then freely circulated throughout the human body. The glands get their necessary food and the nerves are toned up by this blood supply and some exercise.

Apart from its value as physical culture, Prānāyāma is the basis of all spiritual development. By cleansing the Nādis it paves the way for "meditation". The author has done well in not dwelling at length on this aspect of Prānāyāma. It must be followed under the personal supervision of an expert or else it is likely to have disastrous effects on human body and brain. Secondly, it is such a vast subject that brevity in its description is apt to be dangerous. We hope that some day the author will give us a full and detailed description of that course.

Prevention is always better than cure. So everyone who wants to be out of the clutches of these deadly disorders and diseases, is well advised to take up these exercises of Prānāyāma which take only about twenty minutes a day. The author has done his duty by placing at service of the humanity a detailed description of this course.

The real value of this book lies in the fact that the author, a Sanskrit scholar of repute, has made a thorough study of the ancient and original literature on the subject. These ideas were then put to scientific tests in his laboratory and then interpreted in his usual simple but convincing style. Thus he has taken the help of science to give us, what for centuries had been considered a closed book of mystery. This book is bound to be received well by the public. We very anxiously look forward to the issue of more hand-books of this kind.

M. S. CHEER



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[PARTS III-IV

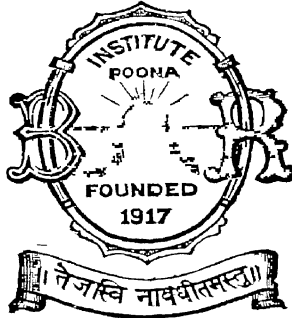
**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
Volume XIII
1931-32**

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Printed by V G Paranjpe M A LL B, D Litt, at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press 198 (17) Sadashiv,
Poona No 2 and Published by
S K Belvalkar M A Ph D Secretary at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
POONA

1932

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

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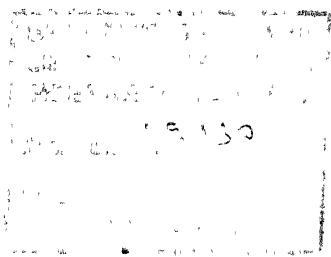
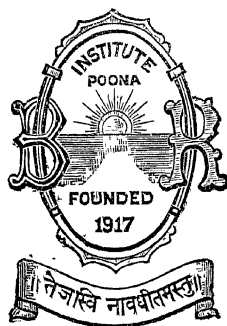
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Bhandarkar Institute Press, 198 (17) Sadashiv,
Poona No. 2, and Published by
S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary, at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
POONA

1932

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GLEANINGS FROM THE UDAYASUNDARĪ-KATHĀ

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purātattva-vicakṣana* ; CALCUTTA

Udayasundarī-kathā is a *Campū-kāvya*, i. e. a work composed in prose interspersed with verses. It was written by a poet named Soddhala in the 11th century A. D. He was born in Lāta-deśa (South Gujarat) and was the court-poet of the three successive royal brothers of Konkana, named Cchittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummunirāja, whose capital was at Sthānaka, the modern Thānā. The ascertained date of Cchittarāja is 1026 A. D., and that of Mummunirāja is 1060 A. D.¹ For sometime he graced the court of Vatsarāja of Lāta also. He has given an account of his family in the first Ucchvāsaka or chapter of his book, which contains some very interesting historical information. As far as we know, this information has not hitherto been utilized by any scholar.

Soddhala writes that in the past there was a king named Śilāditya, whose capital was at Valabhī. His only younger brother was named Kalāditya.² In the family of this Kalāditya was born Candapati, whose son was Sollapeya. Sollapeya's

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 542ff.

2 Pp. 3-4.

son was Sūra, from whom, by his wife Pampāvati was born our poet Sodhdhala.¹ Śilāditya had a long struggle with Dharmapāla of the Māndhātṛ-vamśa, king of Northern India (Uttarāpatha). Through the tact and prowess of Kalāditya, Dharmapāla was besieged in a fort and had to submit to the authority of Śilāditya but was restored to his kingdom.² Śilāditya, now well established in his vast kingdom, thought of appointing an able administrator for his extensive territory. One night before going to sleep he was thinking as to whom to appoint to this responsible post. But as he could not come to a decision, he resigned himself to the providence of that deity through whose grace he acquired his dominion, and fell asleep. In the third part of the night his Rāja-lakṣmī (royal prosperity) appeared before him and he was roused from his sleep. She told him that she had come to advise him about the question of the appointment of his chief minister, over which he was troubling himself. She gave him a seal of gold and directed him to entrust Kalāditya with this seal and also with the general superintendence (*sarvādhi-kārasvāmīn*) of his kingdom. She also told him that this Kalāditya was an attendant (*gaṇa*) of Śiva who went by the name of Kāyastha. He was so named because he was in such close proximity that he was considered to be in the body of the god. (*sa ch= āśtāmūrtera=bhagavato jalamayīm mūrtim=adhīsthatasy=āsanna-sa-hacaratvena kāye sthitatvāt kāyastha iti*). This attendant of Śiva named Kāyastha, under the orders of this god incarnated himself as Kalāditya, his brother, to protect his *Rāja-lakṣmī*. This Kāyastha-Kalāditya, the ornament of the Kṣatriyas (*ksatriya-vibhūṣana*) was then entrusted with the protection of the kingdom.³

Kalāditya's descendants then multiplied and were divided into many branches. They spread themselves to metropolitan towns for the triumph of the Kṣatriyas and as supporters of the creeper of royal prosperity. They came to be known as Valabha Kāyasthas as they hailed from Valabhi.⁴

1 Pp. 11-12.

2 Pp. 4-7.

3 Pp. 9-11.

4 P. 11.

Soddhala's father died while he was a child. He was brought up by his maternal uncle Gangādhara, who was a friend of Yogirāja, the king of Lāta. Soddhala himself was a class-mate of prince Simharāja, son of king Kirtirāja, king of Lāta. Their preceptor was one Candra. Kirtirāja was the father of king Vatsarāja who was the patron of Soddhala. Soddhala's forefathers for generations held the post of Dhruva Prabhus (*dhruva-vritteḥ prabhuh*) of the districts of Sikkarahāriya seventy-two, Vāhirihāra seven hundred, Annāpalliya seven hundred and of other districts, of the Lāta country.¹ Dhruva denotes "a fixed or permanent hereditary officer in charge of records and accounts of a village," the Tālāti and Kulkarni of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruvas was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in vogue in Cutch where the village accountants are called Dhru and Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among the Nāgar Brāhmanas and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch, Gujarāt and Kathiāvāra.²

Now, who could these Dharmapāla and Śilāditya be? Both are historical names and there is no difficulty in identifying them. There are more than one Dharmapāla, but this Dharmapāla king of Uttarāpatha, could be no other than the king of the same name of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. That Dharmapāla was the emperor of the Uttarāpatha finds support from his own charter i. e. the Khālimpur copper-plate grant.³ From lines 27 and 28 of this plate we find that many kings of the Jambu-dvīpa (India) assembled at Pātaliputra to do homage to him. These expressions are also found in the charters of his successors.

Soddhala described Dharmapāla to be of the '*Māndhātṛ varṇa*.' There has been much speculation about the caste of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But here is a positive and disinterested piece of evidence, which sets all doubts at rest. Besides, this evidence is contemporary, for in Soddhala's time, in the eleventh century,

1 Pp. 151-2.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 243.

the Pāla dynasty was still reigning. All other accounts except that of Haribhadra about the caste of the Pālas are later than Soddhala's. This is not all. The fact finds corroboration from the same Khalimpur charter. In verse 11 it has been described that Mahendra having suddenly found the advancing army of Māndhātā in close quarters and being unable to form an opinion of their number, owing to the volume of dust raised by them, which whitened the ten quarters, became alarmed and distracted. Mr. A. K. Maitra in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* has rightly held that here Mahendra refers to Indrāyudha, king of Kanauj and has an allusion to his defeat at the hands of Dharmapāla. He did not, however, explain why Dharmapāla's army had been compared to the army of Māndhātā. Māndhātā is said to be a friend of Indra, but no explanation has been given by anybody why he has been introduced in this verse as an adversary. There must be some justification for the poet for going against the mythological tradition. The reason for this extraordinary action on the part of the poet, seems to us to be to indicate that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Māndhātā. This allusion to Māndhātā was quite intelligible in Dharmapāla's time though it now requires elucidation. From this we are not, however, to conclude that the Pālas were really the descendants of Māndhātā. But this much we can say with certainty that they passed for as such, otherwise Soddhala, a poet of a distant province like Gujarāt of the eleventh century, had no reason or interest to describe Dharmapāla as of the *Māndhātā-vaṃśa*.

Now Śilāditya mentioned by Soddhala can be no other than a Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, for his capital was at Valabhi. This Śilāditya was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, who flourished in the eighth century. Now of the seven Śilādityas of the Valabhi dynasty, the last three reigned in the eighth century. Of these Śilāditya VII might be the person who came into conflict with Dharmapāla. The ascertained dates of the last three Śilādityas are :— Śilāditya V. - 722 A. D. ; Śilāditya VI. - 760 A. D. and Śilāditya VII. - 766 A. D.¹ We have no information of Dharmapāla's having met with any reverse at the hands of any king of the Valabhi

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, Pp. 69-70.

dynasty. But we have evidence to show from the Khālimpur charter that he granted villages for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Lāta country. Besides from verse 5 of the Monghyr grant of his son Devapāla,¹ it appears that he (Dharma-pāla) carried his conquering expedition as far as Kedāra-tīrtha in the north, Gangā-sāgara in the south and to Gokarna-tīrtha, probably in the west. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage named Gokarna even now, resorted to by large number of pilgrims, in Konkana in the Bombay Presidency.

Soddhala calls himself a Kāyastha and at the same time claims to be a Ksatriya. There can be no doubt as to his claim to the Ksatriyahood, as his book containing the assertion was read before two well-known Rajput princes, viz. the Cālukya Vatsarāja of Lāta and the Śilāra Mummunirāja of Konkana. If his mythical story of the origin of the word Kāyastha and of the Kāyastha caste, is given credence to, we should admit that the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century with Kalāditya. And this Kalāditya was a scion of the Valabhi dynasty which was admittedly of the Ksatriya caste. But this is more than what we are prepared to believe. As far as we have been able to trace, the word Kāyastha as the name of a post can be found in epigraphy in the fifth century, in the Damodarpur copper-plate grants.² It is distinctly stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that Kāyastha was an officer, as in 'Mallā dutās=ca kāyasthā ye c=ānye karmakārīṇaḥ' (Chap. XLIV. V. 37). The word also occurs in *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā, Visnu-saṃhitā &c., in the same sense. That in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Kāyastha Dhanadatta was a Brāhmaṇa is apparent from the following address of Cārudatta to Śresthī and Kāyastha :—

'Bhoḥ, adhikṛtebhyah svasti haṃho *niyuktāh*, api *kuśalaṃ bhavatām*'
(Act IX).

Here by the word '*niyuktāh*' (appointed) the Śresthī and the Kāyastha were meant. Now according to Manu, chap. II, verse 127 '*kuśalaṃ*' (happiness) should be asked of Brāhmaṇas only.

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, Pp. 254-257.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, P. 130.

It may be argued, how can a Śreṣṭhī (merchant) be a Brāhmaṇa? There appears to be no bar. Cārudatta, although a Brāhmaṇa, was a Sārthavāha (merchant) for three generations and lived in śreṣṭhī-catvara.

The earliest mention of Kāyastha as a caste-name that we have hitherto been able to find, is in the Sanjān copper-plate grant of the Rāstrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I. dated 871 A. D.¹ It was written by Dharmādhikarāna-senabhogika Guṇadhavaḷa of the Vālabha-Kāyastha-vamśa, i. e. the very Kāyastha family to which our poet belonged. It does not appear from the statement of Soddhala that there were any other sections of Kāyasthas than his own in existence in his time in his part of the country. But the distinctive adjective Vālabha, signifying the locality of its origin, clearly shows that there were Kāyasthas other than the Vālabha, even in the ninth century. Although the word Kāyastha originally meant the name of a post, people following the occupation for generations came to be known as a distinct caste. This will be clear, if we look to the caste-names of India, which are mostly occupational names. It is not unlikely that Kāyastha as a caste commenced formation from the 8th century. It is difficult to say when the mythical stories about the origin of the different sections of the Kāyasthas came into existence. The story of the origin of the Vālabha-Kāyasthas is not of later date than the eleventh century. The Citragupta-origin of the Kāyasthas is, perhaps, still later. The earliest mention of Citragupta as one of the ten names of Yama is found in the Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra. He has not become a writer of Yama even then. The earliest epigraphic mention of Citragupta having any connection with the Kāyasthas is found in a charter of Govindacandradeva of Kanauj, dated 1115 A. D.² This plate was written by a Vāstavya-Kāyastha Thakkura named Jalhana, who has been described as 'Karamk=odgato vidyāmś=Citragupt-opamo gunak' i. e. born of a Karanika family, resembling Citragupta in qualities (as a writer). This was only a prelude. From this resemblance in occupation, the idea of descent from him was

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, Pp 235ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, Pp. 152n & 153.

conceived. Poet Śrīharṣa of *Naiṣadhiya-carita* was a contemporary of king Jayacandra, grandson of king Govindacandradeva, king of Kanauj, mentioned above. He described Citragupta as 'Kāyastha' and makes him present at the *Śvayamvara-sabhā* of Damayanti, along with Agni, Indra, Yama &c. Jayacandra flourished towards the latter part of the 12th century. It may, therefore, be surmised that the legend of the Citragupta descent of some sections of the Kāyasthas dates from the 12th century. It is very curious that although there are ample references to Kāyasthas in epigraphy, there is no mention of their Citragupta-descent, not even in their own family *prāśastis*.

We have seen that the Vālabha Kāyasthas are mentioned in epigraphy and in Sanskrit literature, but they are not heard of now-a-days. Where are they gone? Are they all extinct? It is hard to believe that such an influential section of the Kāyasthas died out altogether. Let us see if any clue can be found of their present whereabouts. There is a sect of Brāhmanas called Bālam Brāhmanas, who resided in Valā or Valabhi. They were the family priests of the Kāyasthas residing there. These Brāhmanas quarrelled with the Kāyasthas, their Yajamānas and left the place for Dhundhuka.¹ Now this sect name of the Brāhmanas no doubt, was derived from Valā or Vala-grāma. We may, therefore, expect that the Kāyasthas of Valā came similarly to be called Balam. In fact we find mention of a Vālamya Kāyastha donor in a pillar inscription of Bhinmal, dated 1206 A. D.² We have seen that the forefathers of Sodhdhala held for generations the post of *Dhruva-Prabhu* (*dhruva-vrtteḥ prabhuḥ*). We have already shown that the Dhruvas were village accountants and their posts were hereditary. The Dhruva-Prabhus were district accountants, having under them village accountants. By holding the post for generations, they perhaps came to be known as Dhruva-Prabhus. We find in the Bhinmal inscriptions that in some cases the writers of them were Dhruvas, which is the legitimate duty of the Kāyasthas. So these Dhruvas were most probably of the Kāyastha caste. There is a section of

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Kathiawar Population, p. 673.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 474,

writers in the Bombay Presidency, who are called Dhruva-Prabhus. They say that they are descended from Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapāda. We believe they are the Vālabha Kāyasthas, and have completely forgotten their old tradition. As they are called Dhruva-Prabhu, they are connecting themselves with Dhruva, the epic hero.

These Dhruva-Prabhus claim to be of the same stock as the Pattana-Prabhus, another writer caste of the Bombay Presidency. This is admitted by the Pattana-Prabhus also. Their epithet of Pattana is derived from their residence in Pattana or Pātan. They are also called Pātāre or Pathāriya. In the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* their descent has been traced from a king named Aśvapati of the solar race of Ksatriyas. Under a curse from Bhṛgu Ṛsi his descendants have been degraded from the kingly office to that of a writer. (Ch. 27 and 28). Details of these Prabhus will be found in the *Bom. Gaztr.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 185-255.

A stone inscription of the time of king Hammīr of Ranthāmbar, (1288 A. D.), found in the Kotāh State in Rājputānā, contains an eulogistic description of the minister of Hammira. The family belonged to the Katāriya Kāyastha varṇa, who went there from Mathurāpura. This Katāriya, apparently, is a scriptic mistake for Pathāriya. We have not heard of any section of Kāyasthas going by the name of Kaṭāriya.

Svāmī Vidyānanda in his *Comprehensive History of the Kāyasthas* has identified the Vālabha Kāyasthas with the Vālmika Kāyasthas, but he has not given his reasons for thinking so. The Vālmika Kāyasthas trace their descent from Citragupta, whereas the Vālabha Kāyasthas, we have seen, are descended from Kalāditya. Besides it is doubtful whether Vālmika can be derived from Vālabha. Not only this, he has in his concluding sentence asserted that 'the kings of Vālabhi were Kāyasthas of a Śree Citragupta descent.' Because a scion of the family and his descendants by pursuing the Kāyastha profession became Kāyasthas, therefore, the whole dynasty was Kāyastha. A fine argument indeed !

Pāṇḍit Gaṅgāśaṁkara Pāṇcoli, a Nāgar Brāhmana, on the other hand thinks that the Valābhi kings were *Sipāhī Nāgars*¹, i. e. the Nāgar Brāhmanas, who took to fighting to defend their country.² He also says that a section of the Nāgar Brāhmanas was called *Citragupta*. Another section again was called *Bhatta*.³ It is very strange that *Bhatta Nāgar* is a well known division of the Kāyasthas.

1 *Nāgarotpatti*, p. 62n.

2 *Ibid.*, pp 61-62.

3 *Ibid.* p 59

KULĀRṆAVA TANTRA — ITS EXTENT AND CONTENTS

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

According to the colophons of the published editions of the *Kulārṇava Tantra* the entire work consists of 125000 verses and the published portion (which covers only about 2000 verses) is stated to form only the fifth part of the whole thing. This is styled *Ūrddhvāmnūya Tantra*. The entire work of which the extent is referred to here is not known to have been found anywhere. Some manuscripts containing only a number of verses more than the published 2000 are however sometimes reported to exist. But we know of verses and topics stated to have been taken from the *Kulārṇava* which are not met with here. It is necessary, therefore, to take stock of all materials attributed to the *Kulārṇava* though some of the attributions may evidently be later and open to doubt.

The *Kulārṇava*, as it has been published by Arthur Avalon and others, consists of seventeen chapters or *ullāsas*. The Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat of Calcutta, however, has two manuscripts which contain an eighteenth chapter as well.¹

Topics not included in the published version of the *Kulārṇava* are found in several manuscripts² to have been ascribed to it. Of these mention may be made of *Kālikāsahasranāman* (one thousand names of the Goddess Kālī), *Gaṇapatiṣaṅcāṅga* (five essentials of the worship of Gaṇeśa), *Durgā-dakārādi-sahasranāmastotra* (one thousand names of Durgā the initial letter of each of which is *d*), *Devī-svarūpastuti* (the hymn of the exact nature of the Goddess), *Śāktakrama* (the order of worship of the Śāktas), *Śyāmākavaca* (the talisman of Śyāmā or Kālī) etc. etc.

Some of the verses attributed to the *Kulārṇava* in works like the *Kaulāvalī* of Jñānānanda Paramahansa and *Tantrasāra* of

1. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat* (*Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā* — Vol. XXXVIII, p. 243).

2. Cf. *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht under *Kulārṇava Tantra*.

Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa could not be traced either in the published editions of the work or in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat Manuscript of it, which we are going to describe below. Of these verses reference may be made to the long extract in the *Kaulāvalī* (IX. 31ff) which appears to have been ascribed to the Kulārṇava as also the verses in the Tantrasāra pertaining to the determination of the *Pakṣa* for initiation and the denunciation of the uninitiated.

A purely Vaisnava work — the *Īśānasamhitā*¹ dealing with the greatness of the well-known Vaisnava reformer Caitanya — is also represented as forming part of the Kulārṇava.

It cannot be stated if all these detached materials formed part of the Kulārṇava Tantra, for such attributions are not infrequently imaginary and unreliable and they are occasionally different in different manuscripts.² But the fact that the Kulārṇava consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version may be correct in view of the definite statement that it is only the fifth part of the whole work. Thus these detached materials — or at least some of them — might not unlikely have formed part of the big work or belonged to different versions of the work if not to entirely separate works bearing same or similar names. That the existence of more than one version of the work or the denomination of different works by its name, was recognised seems to be evident from the introductory portion of the *Kaulāvalī*. This refers to the Kulārṇava twice (not unlikely on account of the existence of two different versions³ of the work) in the course of enumerating the works on which it is based.

1. A manuscript of this work is in the collection of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisat*. One manuscript of the work has been described by Rajendralala Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* I 824
2. C Chakravartī — *op cit.* — p. 246f.
3. Similar is the case not only with several other Tantra works but also with more than one Smṛti and Purāṇa works as well. Sometimes the same name is found to have been used in connection with similar or different works with qualifications like *laghu* (small) and *brhat* (big). Thus to mention only a few, we have *Hārītasmti* and *Laghu-Hārītasmti*, *Manu* and *Brhan-Manu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Brhan-Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Nilatantra* and *Brhan-nilatantra*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Brhan nirvāṇa* and *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In this connection see, Schrader — *Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā* — p 13.

Besides there are several manuscripts of a work called *garbha-kulārnava* in the Madras Oriental Library. The name of the book as given in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras*¹ is *garbha-kulārnava*; but a colophon of the twenty-fourth Patala (as quoted in the catalogue) gives the name as *garbha-²aulāgama*.

Several manuscripts of an entirely different work bearing the same name, *garbha-kaulāgama*, are also in the said Library. Two works of the name of *Kālī-kulārnava* and *Laksmī-kulārnava* have been referred to by Raghunātha in the bibliographical list given by him in the beginning of his extensive compilation — *Āgama-tatkhavilāsa*³

We have actually a complete work which styles itself as the *Kulārnava* but has very little agreement with the published editions of the work. It is a unique thing in respect of contents which agree more with those of the *Y. ni Tantra* than with what we have in the published *Kulārnava*. A manuscript of the work is in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat of Calcutta.⁴ The work in the manuscript is complete in twelve chapters, while the published editions have, as has already been pointed out, seventeen chapters. But owing to its smaller extent it cannot be stated to have preserved a shorter version, as there exists marked difference between it and the published text. The latter work calls itself *Mahā ahaṃja* (the great secret) and *Sarvāgamottamottama* (the best of the best of *āgamas*) while the work in manuscript styles itself *Kulācūra-rahasya* (secret of kula rites).

The subjects treated of in the work are as follows :—

Chapter I — The excellence of Kula practices.

Chapter II — The utility of the five objects of worship — e. g. wine, meat, fish, meal (*mudrā*) and sexual union.

1. Vol XII, Nos 5599--3005.

2. R L. Mitra — *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* — Vol IX.

3. A short description of the Ms by the present writer has appeared in the Sanskrit organ of the Parisat — *Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat* (Vol. XIV, p. 269ff).

- Chapter III — The details of the Kula form of worship and the sanctification of the materials for the worship. For further details of the subject reference has been made to the *Ānandapatala* (fol. 15b).
- Chapter IV — Worship of *cakra* or mystic circle.
- Chapter V — Description of different *cakras* which are enumerated to be five in number e. g., *Rājacakra*, *Devacakra*, *Kulacakra*, *Rāsacakra* and *Śrīcakra*.
- Chapter VI — Importance of the worship of the female organ of generation which is stated to be the abode of various deities. It is definitely asserted that the male organ is the symbol of the Supreme God — Śiva — and the female organ that of *Mahāmāyā* — the Supreme Goddess.¹
- Chapter VII — Statement of the mantra for the worship (*man-troddhāra*).
- Chapter VIII — Worship of *Yonipītha*.
- Chapter IX — Secret worship. Every act in sexual enjoyment is here conceived of as a material for worship. Kissing is the sandal-paste, beating the breast the flower and so on.²
- Chapter X — Utility of worship on particular days. The tenth chapter of the published *Kulārnava* is also devoted to the same topic. But except for a few preliminary verses there is scarcely any agreement between the tenth chapters of the two works. The tenth chapter in our manuscript after re-

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1. योनिरूपा महामाया लिङ्गरूपो महेश्वरः ।
या प्रोक्ता प्रकृतेर्निद्या जगद्धेतुः सनातनी ॥
सैव योनिस्वरूपा च जगदुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥ (fol. 26b)
 2. पादस्पर्शं भवेत् पाद्यमर्घ्यं च मुक्तकेशके ।
ग्राममृते(?) महेशानि भवेदाचमनीयकम् ॥
चुम्बने च भवेद् गन्धं पुष्पं च स्तनमर्चने ।
आलिङ्गने धूपदीपौ नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं प्रिये ॥
मैथुने च भवेज्जापं वीर्यपाने विसर्जनम् ॥ (fol. 35b)

ferring to the importance of worship on particularly auspicious days goes on to describe the origin of wine. It is stated that the goddess Surā (wine) appeared at the time of the churning of the ocean in the guise of a beautiful maiden. When she was eagerly sought after by gods like Visnu she assumed a liquid form, portions of which were taken by the gods each of whom was thus satisfied

Chapter XI -- Preparation of wine and description of the five objects of worship (wine etc.).

Chapter XII -- Hymn and talisman of the female organ of generation (योनिस्तोत्र and योनिक्वच).

Some verses especially dealing with kula rites are found to be common to more than one Tantra. Some of the verses of the Parisat Manuscript under description also belong to this class. Of these :--

प्रवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

निवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ (fol. 16a)

is a well known couplet.

नग्रां परलतां पद्मपद्मयुतं यस्तु मानवः

प्रजपेत् स भवेत् सद्यो विद्यायाः बल्लभः स्वयम् ॥ (fol. 39a)

महाचीनद्रुमलतावेष्टनेन च यत् फलम् ।

तस्यापि षोडशशिन फलां नार्हन्ति ते शवाः ॥

शवासनाधिकफलं लतागेहप्रवेशनम् ॥ (fol. 40a)

These two extracts are also found in *Kālī-Tantra*¹ as IV. 5-6 and IV. 18-19.

Now a word about the position to be assigned to the work in the domain of Kaula literature. Among the followers of the Kula form of worship two graduated types are recognised -- e. g. the Pūrvakaulas and the Uttarakaulas. According to Lākṣmīdhara, who commented on the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya, the Pūrvakaulas took recourse to a symbolical form of worship

1. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat edition,

whereas the Uttarakaulas offered their worship to the actual organ of a maiden.¹

From a comparison of the nature of contents of the published edition and the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat copy of the work it would appear that the published edition belongs to the Pūrvakaulas. Like the followers of the Pūrvakaula system it gives a symbolic interpretation² of the five *tattvas* or objects of worship so essential to the Kaulas.

The Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat copy of the work, however, seems to be a work belonging to the Uttarakaulas who are represented as being engaged in the crudest form of Sex-worship.

1. श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिमध्यगतां योनिं भूर्जहेमवस्त्रपीठादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति ।
तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिमुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति— Lakṣmidhara's Commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series) — p. 130, under verse 41.

2. V. 107—112.

SOME NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

BY

CHARU CHANDRA DASA GUPTA, M. A.

A storm of debate and discussion has centred round the problem of the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal since the beginning of the early part of the nineteenth century. Writing about the date of Lakṣmanasena's accession, Smith observes, Ballāl Sena was succeeded in A. D. 1119 by his son Lakṣmanasena." (EHI. P. 419). He based his observation on the assumption that the first year of the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat or La-Sam was the first year of Lakṣmanasena's reign, and which Dr. Kielhorn calculated to be October 7, A. D. 1119. (IA. Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff). The late Dr. Kielhorn based his arguments on a statement in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nāmā which runs thus :-- " In the country of Banga (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and that from that period till now there have been 465 years." It is further stated therein that at the time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Śalibāhana or Śaka era and 1641 years of the era of Vikramāditya. (Ibid). A calculation of this date enabled Dr. Kielhorn to ascertain a date which he took at 1119 A. D. (Ibid). But there are difficulties in the ascertainment of the Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat. The copper-plate grant of Śiva Singha which bears the date 'La-Sam 293 Śrāvāṇa vadi 7 Gurau, Śaka 1321, Saṁvat 1455' leads us to conclude that the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat began in A. D. 1107, and not in 1119 A. D. as Dr. Kielhorn seems to have established. The question is thus not yet settled and the validity of Kielhorn's conclusion has also been questioned on astronomical grounds (JASB. 1926, p. 365-89). Moreover, it is very striking that the Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. The Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena is dated in 62nd regnal year, the Naihati copper-plate of Vallālasena in 11th regnal year, the Ānuliā, the Govindapur, the Tarpanadighi copper plates and the Dacca Image inscription of

Laksmanasena are dated in 3rd, 2nd, 2nd and 3rd regnal years respectively, the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena in 3rd regnal year, the Madanpādā and the Calcutta Sāhitya Parisat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena in 14th regnal year. (Inscriptions of Bengal, By N. G. Mujumdar, Vol. III, pp. 57-149). This is a very remarkable fact which conclusively proves that the Senas never used the Laksmāna saṁvat. Even the records of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena, the two sons of Laksmanasena, form no exception to this rule. But it is all the more strange to see that the era was used in Behar and there came to be associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Pithi. The Jānibighā Inscription of king Jayasena of Pithi is dated in the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era and the two Bodh Gayā epigraphs of Buddhasena, the father of Jayasena bears the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmanasena Era. Thus the Laksmānasena Era which was never used by the Sena kings of Bengal was frequently used by the lords of Pithi. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Senas of Bengal had scarcely to do anything with the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. (Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 2, p. 5).

The problem, therefore, stands where it had originally been. Let us therefore try to see if anything can be made out from a study of the inscriptions, the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara. Writing in JRAS, January 1930, Mr. P. C. Barat, B. A. has re-adjusted the chronology of the following Sena rulers basing his arguments mainly on the evidence furnished by the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara :—

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Date of accession</i>	<i>Date of retirement or death</i>
Vijayasena	A. D. 1069	A. D. 1095	A. D. 1158
Ballālasena	A. D. 1094	A. D. 1158	A. D. 1168
Laksmānasena	A. D. 1119	A. D. 1168	A. D. 1182

(JRAS. January 1930)

The Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara are two Sanskrit works attributed to Ballālasena. We know of 4 mss. of the Dānasāgara viz. those belonging to the India Office Library, the

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Deb Bahadur and Prācya-vidyāmahārṇava Nagendra Nāth Vasu. In the mss. in possession of the India Office Library and Mr. Nagendra Nāth Vasu we have the following verse :—

‘ Nīkhilā-bhūpa-cakra-tilaka-Śrīmad-Ballālasena-devena ।
Pūrṇe Śāsi-nava-daśamita-śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ ॥ ’

The former ms. gives the date in the numerical figures also and the latter contains two more verses by way of elucidating the date. The passage may lead us to assume that Ballālasena was alive in S. 1091 = 1169 A. D. This assumption is confirmed by certain passages of the *Adbhutasāgara* which contain dates to show that he was alive in S. 1090 = 1168 A. D. This book was examined by many scholars including the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the late Mm. H. P. Śāstri. In 1905 Mm. Muralidhar Jha collected 7 mss. from different places and edited the book. The book contains ‘ Atha Mithilā-mahī-mahendra-nihsankara-śankara Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-sampādito’yaṁ Adbhutasāgarah । ’ at the beginning and ‘ iti Śrī Mahārājādhirāja-nihsankara-śankara-Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-viracito’dbhutasāgare ’ at the end of every chapter. In the extracts of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar there is the following verse :—

‘ Śake kha-nava-khendva = bde ārebhe = dbhutasāgarah ।
Gaudendra-kuñjavālāṇṣṭam bhavāhur = mahipatih ॥ ’

(Collected Works II. 346)

This passage is found in all the mss. of the *Adbhutasāgara*. This fact most probably shows that this work is genuine. Now we have more passages in this work which shows that S. 1090 is the date when the *Adbhutasāgara* was begun. They are :—

1. In the chapter on Rāhor = adbhutāvartah,

‘ Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdā dviguṇah kāryā = rava-rudggole ’

2. In the chapter on Vṛhaspatya = dbhutāvartah,

‘ Athā = dbhutasāgarā = rambha-śakābdāt śastya = bda-yuga-gananam, ’

‘ Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdāt ’

3. In the chapter on Ravya=di-varsā=dbhutāvartah,
 'Atas=tan=matenaikad-granthā=rambha-śakābda-varsā
 =dhipa-gaṇanam'
 'Kha-nava-daśa-1090-śesa-śake'...
4. In the chapter on Saṁvatsarā=dbhutāvartah
 'Kha-nava-viya=dindu-1090-hina'...

All these passages go to show that Ballālasena was most probably alive in Ś. 1090=1168 A. D.

But when did Ballālasena die? The Adbhutasāgara helps us little to ascertain this point; but there is the passage :—

"Granthē'sminnasamāpta eva tanaye sāmraṣya-lakṣmīm mudā
 Dikṣāparvani daksine nijakṛter=nispattima=ssthāpayat |
 Nānā-dāna-tilam=vusamvalanabham sūryātma-jāsaṅgamam
 Gangāyam viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ ||
 Śrīmad Lakṣmanasena-bhūpatih ratistaghyo yadudyo gato |
 Nispanno'dbhtasāgarah kṛtirasau Vallālabhūmibhujah ||"

We may on the strength of this passage accept the year S. 1090 as the date of his abdication. The Naihāti copper-plate grant of Vallālasena which is the only record uptill now found is dated in the 11th regnal year in the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Mr. Barat writes down "Only one copper-plate grant of Ballālasena Deva has been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign. Taking 1090 as the date when Ballālasena handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in S. 1080 = A. D. 1158." (JRAS. Jan. 1930). But there is one internal evidence in the Naihāti copper-plate of Ballālasena which has not been noticed by Barat or any other scholar but which makes our position regarding the date of Ballālasena more certain than ever. It is well-known that this grant was made by Ballālasena on behalf of his mother Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The passage in question, runs thus :—

"Śrī Vardhamāna-bhuktya=ntaḥpātinyuttaro=Rādha-
 mandale Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-vithyām ... Vāllāhitthā-grāmo ...
 ācārya-śrīuvāsu-devaśarmmane 'asmanmatri Śrī Vilāsadevī-
 bhīḥ sura-saritī suryo=parāge datta-hemā=śva-mahādāna-

sya daksinātvēno=tsrstah ... tāmra-śāsanīkrtya pradatto'as
mābhih Sam 11 Vaiśākha-dine 16 Śrī ni mahasām
karana ni " — (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 74).

i. e. The village of Vāllāhitthā ... situated within the Svalpa-Daksina-vīthi belonging to the Uttara-Rādhā-mandala of the noted Vardhāmana-bhukti ... is given by me, by a copper-plate, ... as a fee to the preceptor, the illustrious Ovāsudevaśarmman... for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother the illustrious Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a solar eclipse. ... The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Mahāsan(dhī-vigrahika), the Karaṇa.

Thus it is quite clear that a grant was made by Vallālasena in the year 11 i. e., 11th regnal year and 16th day of Vaiśākha on account of a solar eclipse. The Adbhutasāgara has given Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D. as the date of Lakṣmaṇasena's accession. Now when did the solar eclipse take place in the month of Vaiśākha immediately before 1169 A. D. ? According to Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai one solar eclipse took place in 1167 A.D. (Ś. 1089) on Saturday 21st April, obviously referring to the month of Vaiśākha. (Indian Chronology, p. 88). There was no solar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha for 19 years before that date. (Ibid, p. 86). Thus 1167 A. D. or Ś. 1089 must be the 11th regnal year of Ballālasena. Thus the date of his accession must be referred to 1157 A. D. or Ś. 1079, a date which has a remarkable support in the passage of the Adbhutasāgara quoted above, viz., 'Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite Śāke Ballālasena-rājyāda' i. e., 'in 1082 Ś. (1160 A. D.) at the beginning of Ballālasena's reign'. Ballālasena's reign may, therefore, be said to extend from Ś. 1079 = 1157 A. D. - Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D.

Vallālasena's date being fixed, it is easy to find out the date of his father Vijayasena. We know as yet two inscriptions of Vijayasena viz., the Deopārā Inscription and the Barrackpur copper-plate dated in 62nd regnal year 7th Vaiśākha. There is an important passage in the latter inscription that throws a great deal of light on the point. The passage, in question, runs thus :—

“ Śrī Paundravardhana-bhuktya=ntahpāti-Khādi-visaye
Ghāsasambhoga bhāttabādā-grāme ... Samatatiya-nalena
pātaka-catustaya ... Śrī-Udayakaradevasarmmane ...
somagrahe asman-mahā-mahādevi-Śrīmad-Vilāsa-de-
vyā datta-kanaka-tulā-purusa-mahādāne homa-karma-
daksinā ... tāmrasasanikṛtya pradattā'smabhiḥ ... Sam
62 Vaisākha-dina 7 Śrī ni (ma)hā ni.”

(Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 63-64).

i. e., 4 pātakas of land by the Nala of Samatata in the village of Ghāsasambhogabhāttabādā belonging to the Khādi-visaya of the noted Paundravardhana-bhukti is given by me, by means of a copper-plate, to the illustrious Udayakaradevasarmman as fee for conducting Homa in the Great Gift of my Great Great Queen, the illustrious Vilāsadevi, in which the Golden Tulāpurusa was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse. The year 62, the 7th day of Vaisākha. (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the (Mahāsāmdhivigrahika or Mahāmātra).

Thus it is deducible from the passage quoted above that a grant was made by Vijayasena on behalf of his chief queen Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. In 1157 A. D. itself there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Vaisākha i. e., on Thursday 11th April (Indian Chronology, p. 88). If 1157 A. D. is accepted as the date of Vallālasena's accession, then Vijayasena must have vacated the throne by that date. Taking the 62nd regnal year as the last year of Vijayasena's reign, we can easily have 1095 A. D. as the first year of his reign. He, therefore, may be said to have ruled from c. 1095 A. D. to 1157 A. D.

In conclusion I desire to thank Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for suggesting this problem to me and taking a great deal of interest in preparation of this note.

THE MĀLAVAS

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

The earliest mention of the Mālavas whose history it is our intention to discuss here is in the writings of Alexander's historians where they are mentioned as the Mallois. In the first stage of Indological research scholars had failed to identify them with any Indian tribe. It was in 1872 that the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was able to identify the two tribes Malloi and Oxydrakoi with the Mālavas and Ksudrakas of Sanskrit literature.¹

Neither the Mālavas nor the Ksudrakas have been mentioned by Pāṇini. Nevertheless, there is a Sūtra in Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) which speaks of certain tribes living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvi saṁgha*) and included among the Vāhikas. The Kāśikā says that amongst these Saṁghas were the Mālavas and Ksudrakas. According to Sylvain Levi the Vāhikas were in the Punjab,² for which he relies on the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, is inclined to extend the boundaries of the Vāhika country, and would make it co-extensive with the modern Punjab and Sindh minus the hill districts.³ Though the Mālavas are tacitly understood in Pāṇini's *Astādhyāyī*, there can be no doubt that they are actually mentioned as such by Patañjali (IV. 1. 68).

It was first pointed out, in my opinion, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that there are three stages in their history. The first was in the Punjab, the second was in the Nāgar-chāl area of the Jaipur State, and finally in the north-west part of Central India.⁴ Let us now take the first stage of their history. In the time of Alexander they were settled in the Punjab. The Sanskrit name Ksudraka-Mālava has been transliterated in Greek in various

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 23.

2 *Ibid*, 1906, p. 18.

3 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 38.

4 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures 1921*, pp. 12-13.

ways. Thus Arrian calls them Mallai and Oxydrakai; Curtius, Sudracae and Mallai; Diodorus, Syrakusoi and Malli; Strabo, Hydrakai and Malli; and the Roman writer Pliny, Sydracae and Malli. As to the exact tribal territory opinion differs. The late V. A. Smith was of opinion that the Malloi occupied the country below the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab), that is, the country comprising the Jhang district and the whole or greater portion of modern Montgomery district.¹ But McCrindle thinks that the territory of the Mālavas was of great extent comprehending a part of the modern doab formed by the Akesines and the Hydraotes and extending according to Arrian to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. That is the modern Multan district with portions of Montgomery district.² It was during his retreat from the banks of the Hyphasis (Rāvi) that Alexander came into conflict with the Mallois. They were on the Hydaspes (Jhelum after its unity with Chenab). The scattered passages in the Greek works are our only source of information regarding the life, political and social, of these tribes at this time. The two tribes Mālavas and Ksudrakas of Sanskrit literature, and Malloi and Oxydrakoi of Greek writers seem to have formed a league at this time. But whether they were able to oppose Alexander unitedly, it is very difficult to determine. Curtius informs us that their combined army was led by a brave Ksudraka warrior. But Diodorus informs us that the Syrakusoi and Malloi could not agree as to the choice of the leader and ceased in consequence to keep the field together.³ Arrian, too, definitely tells us that Malloi had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakoi and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.⁴ We are further told that most of their cities were on the Chenab but their capital which was the last to be captured by Alexander was on the Ravi. Diodorus and Curtius

1 *J. R. A. S.* 1903, p. 631.

2 McCrindle — *Invasion of India*, App. Note, PP. 351.

3 *Ibid.* p. 236, fn. 1.

4 *Ibid.* p. 150.

wrongly assign this city to Oxydrakoi, but Arrian makes it quite clear that the city belonged to the Malloi. General Cunningham identifies the city with Multan, but St. Martin takes Harappa to be the 'Mallian capital'.

While sailing along the Hydaspes Alexander received the news that the Mallois and Oxydrokois "had conveyed their children and wives for safety into their strongest cities, and they meant to give him hostile reception." He, therefore, accelerated his voyage and reached the confluence of Akesines and Hydaspes, and then by forced marches through waterless tract brought his troops to the territory of the Mallois. As the Mallois never imagined that Alexander would attack them so soon by crossing so difficult a tract of country, they were taken by surprise being engaged in their fields. In a skirmish some were killed and the rest took shelter in a nearby stronghold. But the defeat suffered by the tribe was neither final nor decisive. The surprised tribe in sullen anger took shelter in fortified cities determined to resist till the end. As he had no infantry with him, Alexander besieged the city with the help of the Cavalry. This city has been identified with the ruins of Kot-Kamalia, a small but ancient town on a mound on the northern bank of the Ravi.¹ When the infantry arrived, Alexander sent Predikkas to attack another Malloi city, while he himself led assault on the besieged city. The place was soon captured, the majority of the defenders being put to the sword. In the meantime, Predikkas, who was sent to attack another city, found it deserted and easily captured it. The Mālavas had decided to oppose the Greeks at a more strongly fortified place, identified by Cunningham with Tulumba, but that city was also easily captured by a detachment under Predikkas.² Alexander then attacked a city of a tribe called the Brachmans, and then giving one day's rest to his worn out troops renewed his attack on the Mālavas. But this time he found most of their cities deserted, the men having preferred to make the desert and the jungle as their home, but not to submit to an alien yoke.

1 Cunningham — *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Pp. 238-241.

2 *Ibid.* Pp. 259-60.

Alexandar then sent Peithon and Demetrius against the largest city of the Mallois ; to which, he was informed, many men from other cities had fled for safety. For reasons unknown to us this city too was abandoned and the Mallois are said to have crossed the Ravi and arrayed themselves against the Greeks on its other bank. Alexander decided to reach the place with cavalry by forced marches, asking the infantry to follow. On seeing him crossing the river, the Mallois, at first attempted to retreat in good order but on noticing the small number of enemy, wheeled round to give battle. After some time perceiving that their heavy armed troops were in danger of being surrounded by the mobile Greek cavalry, they retired to a nearby city which was their capital where they made a last desperate effort to resist the foreign invader. On being forced off the city walls they took shelter in the citadel, but they could not hold it long, the bravery and leadership of Alexander overawed their every effort, and the citadel was captured, though he (Alexander) was seriously wounded in leading the attack. All the inhabitants including the men, women, and children were put to the sword. According to McCrindle, Diodorus and Curtius wrongly assign the city to the Oxydrakoi.¹ As a matter of fact if Arrian and Plutarch are to be believed the city belonged to Malloi and not to Oxydrakoi.

One who has gone through the works of Greek writers generally carries the impression that Alexander's conquest of the Mālavas and other small states of the Punjab was an easy affair. But quite contrary was the case. The resistance offered by this small tribe to the conqueror of nearly half of the ancient world, is truly amazing. This much must be conceded that the Macedonian soldiers, trained as they were under two foremost generals of ancient Greece, were no proper match for one or two small tribal states which played no important part in the political arena of India at any time.

The unguarded statements of the Greek writers confirm the above supposition. Curtius' statement as to the strength of the combined army of the Mallois and the Oxydrakois, has to be accepted with a grain of salt, because according to Arrian there

1 McCrindle — *Invasion of India by Alexander*. App. Note, Q. P. 351.

was no combination at all. The opposition of the small Punjab states seems to have disheartened the Greek soldiers very much. Because we are told by one authority that "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations of India were yet to take part, they began to chide the king in language of sedition".¹ The fear of the Macedonians was well justified. After the palpable resistance given by Darius III and meek submission of Ambhi, the Greeks thought that their conquest of India would be easy. After the battle of Hydaspes that dream of theirs was shaken. Henceforth every inch of the ground had to be fought for, every fortified place taken. It was this guerrilla warfare that had demoralised the Greek soldiers. No more they had to meet shaky armies of degenerated empire, ready to leave the field of battle at the first clash of arms. But they had now to meet men of different calibre, armed men who would stick to their post till hewn to death. Thus when they were first surprised while they were engaged in fields, the Mālavas did not tamely submit, but took shelter in a nearby stronghold. Then from city to city the carnage of war continued. On the fortified heights of Tulumba, and at Kot-Kamalia, they resisted the invader. They went so far as even to make the desert and jungle their homes rather than be slaves to the foreign conqueror, and it was when Alexander had exposed himself to gravest danger that the last Malloi city fell. The Greek writers in order to magnify Alexander convey the impression that Mālava tribe was practically annihilated, but that was far from the case. Both the Mālavas and Ksudrakas are mentioned in Patañjali as we have seen above. Arrian too definitely tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and Oxydrakois came to conclude a treaty with Alexander, and a treaty was concluded. If there was practical annihilation, why then was there a treaty? Did Alexander conclude treaties with the people of Messaga, Aornos, Darius III, and others? A treaty is possible with a partially defeated people; it does not imply annihilation. What were the exact terms of the treaty we do not know, but these were probably some of the terms, namely,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 234.

ontribution of chariots and horses or cavalry, and an annual tribute.¹

When they were attacked by Alexander, the Mālavas seem to have been in a fairly high state of civilization. They were mainly an agricultural community. Thus when Alexander made a surprise attack on them, they were engaged in their fields. They impressed the Greeks with their appearance, being men of tall stature and dignified bearing. "Their robes were of linen wrought with purple and gold." They also seem to have developed a currency of their own. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to a statement of Quintus Curtius referred to by General Cunningham: "that near the junction of the five rivers Alexander received from the Malli and Sudracae a present of 100 talents of white iron (*ferri candidi*). This white iron can be either nickel or tin. But tin was soft metal, therefore unsuitable for coinage; besides it was well known to the Greeks who would not have, therefore, called it white iron. Nickel, on the other hand, thinks Cunningham, is hard and magnetic, as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks they could call it white iron. Thus in his (Cunningham's) opinion Nickel was used for purpose of currency by the Indian tribes, Mālavas and Ksudrakas, in the time of Alexander."²

With this ends the first stage of their history. We have no further information about their continuing to remain in this reign. Neither Kautilya nor Megasthenes mentions them. They seem to have migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajputana. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, in his *Hindi History of Rajputana*, has devoted but one page to an account of them which, unfortunately is very scrappy and uncritical.³ We will, therefore, try to reconstruct their history so far as it relates to their settlement in Rajputana. Just sixty-one years ago Carlyle found no less than 600 coins belonging to the Mālavas at Nāgar, also called Karkotaka-Nagar, lying in

1 *Ibid.* Pp. 154 and 249.

2 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, P. 144.

3 Ojha — *Rājputānāki Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 96.

the territory of Raja of Unīārā a feudatory of Jaipur.¹ Carlyle traced the names of forty kings, but Smith found only twenty. A large portion of this hoard appears to have been lost. These Mālava coins are remarkable for their small size, and one of them which is No. 106 in Smith's *Catalogue* is regarded by him as the smallest in the world.² He remarks: "It is difficult to understand how such a coinage could have been used, as it was used for centuries." The size of the coins, however, can suggest only one thing — the low economic condition of the tribe.

In 1923 Mr. R. O. Douglas wrote a paper called "On some Mālava Coins" which was published in J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XIX, (N. S.) P. 42 ff. That paper is important in some respect. His reading Mālaya instead of Mālava on some coins is noteworthy, but even he has not been able to throw light on the name of supposed kings of the tribe, which, as noted above, are about forty according to Carlyle, and twenty according to Smith. But are they really names of any kings at all? Some of them are *Magaja*, *Magojaya*, *Majupa*, *Mayojapa*, *Mapaya*, and so forth. It will be seen that most of them begin with "Ma" and consist of permutations and combinations of five letters *Ma*, *ga*, *ja*, *sa*, *ya*. The probability is that these letters constitute not names so much, as abbreviations. In fact it was suggested to me long ago by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, that the three letters *Magaja* which occur for instance, on coins 82-84 of Smith's *Catalogue* and which had been taken to be the name of a king looked like an abbreviation of the legend: *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ* which occurs for instance on coins Nos. 58-61. As stated above it is worthy of note that the Mālava coins are very small in size. To engrave the whole legend, therefore, on any one of its surfaces must have caused considerable difficulty. This seems to be the reason why the legend was abbreviated into these three letters. Similarly it is a habit with the coin manufacturers not to engrave each letter fully and entirely. Thus what looks like the letter *pa* in *Mapaya* may be *la*; and *Mapaya* might thus stand for *Mālaya* equal to *Mālava*.

1 Cunningham — *A. S. R.* vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72ff.

2 V. A. Smith — *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 178.

Mr. Douglas has already shown that the tribal name is sometimes written Mālaya instead of Mālava. Similarly *Mapaja* may be explained as equivalent to *Mālayajah* equal to *Mālava jah*. Again *Magajasa* may be equivalent to *Mālava-ganasya yasa*. It is thus not at all improbable to take these letters as the abbreviated forms of the legend. Otherwise we are compelled to weave the most fantastic names out of them.

I have already stated that the Mālavas were in south-western part of the Punjab before they migrated to the Nāgar-Chāl province of Jaipur State. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by the fact that the legend on some of the coins has to be read from right to left as in Kharosthī which is almost an unprecedented thing in Brāhmī; this is certainly due to their northern origin, where Kharosthī was the prevalent script since the Achaemenid conquest of North-west India. Kharosthī died a natural death in the 4th century A. D. It is thus evident that the Mālavas must have been settled in Jaipur area much earlier than this period. This is in keeping with the fact that the legend on the earliest coins as noted by Mr. Douglas are in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit. The Mālava occupation of this region is further confirmed by the Nasik Cave Inscription of Usāvadāta, a Śaka, son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna.¹ It is inexplicable how Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha has lost sight of such an important fact in his *History of Rajputana*. The Nasik Inscription informs us that Usavadāta had gone at the command of his lord, who can be no other than Nahapāna, to relieve the Chief of Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by the Mālayas, who fled away at the mere sound of his approach, and were made the prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. Usavadāta is represented as afterwards having gone to Puskaras seven miles west of Ajmere. It is thus clear that the Mālayas were then settled in South-eastern part of Jaipur State. That the Mālayas were the same as Mālavas can not be doubted after the reading vouched for by Mr. Douglas on the coins examined by him. Thus we see that both on the first and second occasions the real cause of their migration was defeat at the hands of superior powers.

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 44.

It has been noted above that on most of their coins the term *Gaṇa* is associated with Mālava. It further deserves to be noticed that the inscriptions also speak of the Mālava *gaṇa*. The question that arises now is : what does *Gaṇa* signify? Rai Bahadur Ojha blindly following in the foot-steps of Monier-Williams and Fleet has taken the word to mean 'jāti'. In his Sanskrit-English Dictionary Monier-Williams translated the word by 'tribe'. This meaning was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase *Mālava-gaṇasthiti* occurring in the two Mandasor Inscriptions.¹ Following them the Rai Bahadur has translated the English word by the Hindi term *jāti*, which means not only a tribe, but also a caste. It was Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who first pointed out that *gaṇa* signified a republic,² and Prof. Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy, — a federation of clans.³ The latter view is now generally accepted, but it was Mr. Jayaswal who placed the scholars on the right track, and Dr. Thomas challenged the late Dr. Fleet fifteen years ago in regard to the correctness of his rendering of the word *gaṇa* by tribe.⁴ Rai Bahadur Ojha's book was published but six years ago, and it is, indeed, a matter of regret that he has failed to take note of the exact significance of the term *gaṇa*. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas were a *gaṇa* — a tribal oligarchy, — at any rate from circa. 150 B. C. to circa. 550 A. D.

It is well known that the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta speaks of the Mālavas. In fact, they head the list of the tribes which were tributaries of the Gupta Emperor. The question arises : where are the Mālavas to be located in the Gupta period? It does not seem very difficult to find an answer. The scholars are fully aware that the years of the Vikrama Era were designated Kṛta in the Gupta epoch and earlier,

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp. 72ff & 79ff,

2 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 29.

3 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165, and *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 110.

4 *J. R. A. S.* 1914, pp. 413 and 1010 ; 1916 p. 162,

and that the Mālavas were somehow associated with them. The typical verse is found in the Mandasor Inscription of Narvarman which runs thus :— “*Śrī(r) -m Mālava-gaṇāmnāte praśaste kṛta-samjñāte ...*” The second expression *Kṛta-samjñāte* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date shows that “*Kṛta*” was the original name of the Vikrama Era. But what does the first expression, *Mālava-gaṇāmnāte*, signify? It must mean “traditionally handed down by the Mālava Gaṇa”, and indicates that the Mālavas had their own peculiar system of computing the Kṛta years. This point has already been dwelt upon by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and it is not, therefore, necessary to deal with it further.¹ Suffice it to say that the Mālavas were connected with the Kṛta Era so far as their system of reckoning went. Wherever the Kṛta years are specified in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name of the Mālavas occurs in most cases. We have, therefore, to see where these inscriptions have been found which associate the Mālavas with the Kṛta years. They are Mandasor in the Gwalior State, Kaṇṣuvām in the Kotah State, Nāgarī in Udaipur State, and so forth. These inscriptions are found within an area marked by longitude N. 23-26 and latitude E. 74-77. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas in the Gupta period were no longer confined to the Nāgar-chāl province of the Jaipur State, but had moved southwards and settled in a province comprising south-eastern part of Rajputana and north-west part of Central India. Shortly after Gupta period the Mālavas seem to have migrated still further southwards. In the *Gurvāvalī-Sūtra* of Dharmasāgaragaṇi, Śrī Devendrasūri is represented to have gone from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka to Gurjaratrā (Gujarat).² It seems that Mālavaka touched Gujarat. Curiously enough this agrees with what the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chawang has stated.³ He makes *Po-lu-ka-che-po* (Bharoach) and *Mo-la-po* (Mālava) as two conterminous states about the middle of the 7th century A. D. He also tells us that Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the *Mo-ho* (v. l. *Mo-hi*=*Māhi*) river. This is also

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 187-94.

2 Weber — *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 990.

3 Watters — *Yuan Chawang*, Vol. II. p. 241.

confirmed by the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II, dated G. E. 320-21.¹ The first inscription records that the king made a grant on the eastern boundary of Navagrāmaka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka, whereas the second refers to his grant of land on the southern boundary of Candraputraka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka. It is known that both these charters were found in the Rutlam State, and as a matter of fact Navagrāmaka mentioned in the copper-plate grant has been identified with Nogāwā in the same state. What is further noteworthy is that the Rutlam State is situated on the south-eastern side of the Mahi river at its source. This concurrent testimony points to the conclusion that in the post-Gupta period the Mālavas had occupied a province including the modern Rutlam State.

It must not however be supposed that the Mālavas migrated southward only. In the post-Gupta period they seem to have gone eastward also. All the copper-plates of Pāla kings excepting that of Dharmapāla refer to the Kulikas or cultivators as consisting not only of the Khasas and Hūnas but also of the Mālavas. The above account of the Mālavas refers to the pre-Muhammadan times. Before, however, we conclude this paper, it would be well to notice whether they survive in the modern period. It is well known that there is a province called Malwa in Central India. "It consists solely of the plateau lying between 23° 30' and 24° 20' N and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E. which is terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by the arm of the same range which strikes north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kulācala paryāta of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reaches from Amjheri to Chitor (in Rajputana), and on the north by the Mukundwara range which is from Chitor to Chanderi."²

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 188 ff.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, pp. 95-100.

It is also worthy of note that the name Mālava has survived not only in that of a province as just noted, but also in those of two Brāhmana castes. They are called the 'Mālavis' or 'Mālavikas'. They are the proper Brāhmanas of Mālava and the adjoining country. They are not only found in their special habitat, but also in Gujarat on one hand, and Central Provinces and United Provinces on the other. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this caste is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. These 'Mālavi' Brāhmanas, however, are isolated from their main stock in Malwa.¹

¹ Wilson — *Indian Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 114 and 139. Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, P. 153.

⁵ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I. [

ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKANṬHA AND THE BRHAT-SAMHITĀ

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, B. A. (Hons.)

Writing in the maiden number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, on the knotty problem of " the date of Śrīkantha and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsā ",¹ Mr. T. R. Chintamani permits himself an unhappy digression in a foot-note wherein he bitterly complains against Śrī Madhvācārya having quoted the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ति च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

from " an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brhat-Samhitā* " ; and concludes with pretentious familiarity that " perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya in this connection is on a par with the Kātharāyana — Mātharāyana sources from which he is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts ! "

The writer's anxiety to create for himself many opportunities and lose none to criticise Madhva though obvious is yet highly regrettable. For, I perceive no earthly connection, from the writer's treatment of the problem at any rate, between the problem of Śrīkantha's date and Madhva's citing a verse (albeit also cited by the former) from the *Brhat-Samhitā*. That the writer himself was only too plainly conscious of the blessed irrelevance of Madhva's quotation to his subject is betrayed by the fact that he himself has to resort to the luxury of a foot-note to censure Madhva.

Having come to the happy conclusion that " Śrīkantha should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century " (p. 67), Mr. Chintamani proceeds to give some corroborative evidence and it is here that he introduces the verse ' उपक्रमोपसंहारौ ' etc. Says he

1 The date of Śrīkantha and his Brahmamīmāṃsā, by T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Research Student, University of Madras. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol i, part 1, January 1927.

"The date we have thus arrived at is confirmed by the following reference. Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहाराव्यासेऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

"My revered preceptor, Professor S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal, has been able to identify¹ this verse as Akhandānanda's. Akhandānanda in his *Tattvadīpana* refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोक.
' उपक्रमोपसंहारा '

Edition of *Tattvadīpana* in the

Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687.

"It is a well-known fact that *Samgraha-śloka*s are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such²" (Italics mine).

I am sure, Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri would certainly disclaim any conspicuous or extra-ordinary ability in tracing the verse in question in a printed prose work such as the *Tattvadīpana*; and I have no manner of doubt that he would be the last man to identify himself, sympathise with or lend his weighty support to the attacks and insinuations of his precocious pupil, Mr. Chintamani, against Madhva.

It would appear from the foregoing quotations that Mr. Chintamani would regard Śrīkaṇṭha as later than Akhandānanda for the very simple reason that the former quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो... ' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, which has been—in the writer's opinion—shown to have been composed by Akhandānanda. Since Śrīkaṇṭha "belongs" to the middle of the 13th century, "Akhandānanda belongs to the beginning of the 13th century."

In spite of assiduous attempts, Mr. Chintamani has not successfully demonstrated a clear case of borrowing on the part of Śrīkaṇṭha from Akhandānanda. On the contrary, the occurrence of the verse in Śrīkaṇṭha as well as in the other, would at

1 The opening verse of the leading article in this number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, could similarly be identified as an unacknowledged adaptation with a change of the last quarter, of a well-known verse in the *Nilakaṇṭha Vijaya* of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita; Madras 1924.

2 Op. cit., p, 68.

best only indicate that both have it from a common source. Nor is the verse indubitably Akhandānanda's own though quoted as a *Saṅgraha śloka*. Mr. Chintamani himself admits that "Akhandānanda is indebted to his teacher Prakāśātman for this verse" and that "with slight modifications, Akhandānanda adopted the verse and gave it as a *Saṅgraha śloka*"¹ -- whatever one may think of the intellectual honesty involved in such a procedure. Anyhow it is amusing to note that Mr. Chintamani's dictum that "it is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha ślokas* are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such" (p. 68) is miserably contradicted by himself at the very next page.

Nor does it appear very necessary that Śrīkantha quotes the verse in question from Akhandānanda. There is nothing to support such a very original notion in Śrīkantha's work. In the first place, Mr. Chintamani does not express the entire truth when he baldly observes, "Śrīkantha quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो.....'"² Indeed, Śrīkantha quotes it with a significant remark: तथा पठन्ति which shows that the verse so quoted is of hoary antiquity -- being, in fact, the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins. Śrīkantha is not likely to have borrowed it from Akhandānanda. There is no valid reason to support such a conjecture other than the flimsy one of *Saṅgraha ślokas* being the compositions of authors who refer to them as such which is so pathetically negatived in the same breath by the writer himself. Nor is 'तथा पठन्ति' the usual or legitimate manner of acknowledging such a debt!

Lastly, Śrīkantha's priority to Madhva seems to be established by the repudiation of the pro-Śaiva interpretations of *śrutis* in the former's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* by Madhva in his *Anu-Vṛākhyāna*. The strong Vaiṣṇavite tenor of Madhva's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the strong plea which he puts forth on behalf of the supremacy of Viṣṇu throughout his commentary and notably in the commentary on the very first *Sūtra*³ appear to be directed pointedly towards the repudiation of an

1 Loc. cit., p. 69.

2 ब्रह्मशब्दश्च विष्णवेव । न चैतदप्रत्यविरोधः । न च वैष्णवेषु तथा । तच्चैव मोहमित्युक्तं ॥ अनुमानतोऽन्ये न कल्पनीयाः

equally vehement and passionate Śaivite interpretation¹ of the *Sūtras*. The plausibility of Śrīkaṇṭha's work having been the one which Madhva ought to have had in view, is established beyond doubt by an actual and elaborate refutation of the Śaivite interpretation of the Upanisadic text :

‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं ’

sponsored by Śrīkaṇṭha, in Madhva's *Anu-vyūkhyāna* :

स्यादेतत् । ब्रह्मशब्दबलेनात्ममयादीनां विष्णुत्वं न निश्चेतुं शक्यते । ‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् । ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं शंकरं नीललोहितम् ’ इति तापनीयवाक्ये रुद्रेषि परं ब्रह्मश्रवणात् इत्यतः पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भिन्नविषयत्वेन व्याख्याति² ॥

In the *Ānandamaya* adikarṇa Śrīkaṇṭha proclaims Śiva as the *ānandamaya* :

अतोयमानन्दमय आत्मा जीव एव न परमेश्वरः इति प्राप्ते ब्रह्मः आनन्दमयोयमात्मा परमेश्वर इति । कुतः । अभ्यासात्³ ॥ and Madhva naturally, is eager to refute this view as can be seen from his inclusion of the contention that *ānandamaya* is रुद्र (परमेश्वर of Śrīkaṇṭha) in the *pūrvapakṣa* and from his *siddhānta* that *ānandamaya* is Viṣṇu : आनन्दमयो ब्रह्मादिः प्रकृतिर्विष्णुर्वा ? । ब्रह्मशब्दाद्विरण्यगर्भप्राप्तिः । शतानन्दनाम्ना च । अष्टमूर्तित्वात्सूर्ये प्रोक्तत्वाच्च रुद्रस्य । तथापि न ते आनन्दमय शब्देनोच्यन्ते किंतु विष्णुरेव⁴ ॥ These two instances would suffice to establish that Madhva is endeavouring to refute the Śaivite interpretation already current and established in his days. The probable identity of the Śaivite commentator responsible for those views with Śrīkaṇṭha deserves careful consideration especially when the views criticised by Madhva are directly traceable to Śrīkaṇṭha's *Bhāṣya*.

It is also significant to note Jayatīrtha echoing the term अभियुक्त used by Śrīkaṇṭha : तथा ह्यभियुक्ता वदन्ति (p. 50) : न च तच्छास्त्रं विष्णुपरामिति वाच्यं । अभियुक्तैः शिवादिपरत्वे न व्याख्यातत्वात्⁵ ॥

1 शिव एको ध्येयः । अन्यथा कथं सप्तारनिवृत्तिः । शिव एको ध्येयः शिवंकरः सर्वमन्यतपरित्यज्येति शिवव्यतिरिक्तस्य मुमुक्षुणां ज्ञेयत्वं ध्येयत्वं च परिसंख्यायते । अतः । शिव एव परं ब्रह्म ।

Śrīkaṇṭha . *Brahma Mīmāṃsā*, Mysore Oriental Library Series, p. 25.

2 *Nyāya Sudhā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 128.

3 Śrīkaṇṭha, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

4 Madhva : *Commentary on Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 12.

5 *Nyāya Sudhā*, p. 112.

Literary tradition among the commentators of the Dvaita school also endorses the view that Madhva implied a criticism of Śrīkantha also. The author of the *Candrīkāprakāśa*¹ in commenting on Vyāsātīrtha's *Candrīkā* indicates the Śaiva-Viśiṣṭa-dvaita tenets refuted² by Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin roundly asserts that Madhva's work was the last word on the Vedānta :

अन्ते सिद्धस्तु सिद्धान्तो मध्वस्यागम एव हि³ ।

an assertion which could not have been made if the Śrīkantha Bhāṣya had come later than Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin is not usually an ill-informed person in such matters.

It would thus appear that Śrīkantha must have been a predecessor of Madhva, who falls entirely within the 13th century (1199-1272 A. D.). Śrīkantha must therefore have flourished at least a century earlier and may therefore be placed in the 12th century. Śrīkantha's emphatic Śaivite interpretation could thus be shown to have been directed against Rāmānuja and it will then be clear how Madhva had a double task of reclaiming and reaffirming the Supremacy of Viṣṇu as well as of refuting the Śaivite interpretations of Śrīkantha.⁴

Mr. Chintamani places Akhandānanda in the beginning of the 13th century. It is therefore quite impossible that Śrīkantha ever borrowed from or was otherwise indebted to Akhandānanda who was later than himself ; nor even from Prakāśātman who must have been, at the worst, a contemporary of his. Madhva, too, was a contemporary of Akhandānanda and to begin his philosophical career by misappropriating a verse from Akhandānanda must have sounded hideous to him — Mr. Chintamani's verdict notwithstanding, — especially when he could have had access to it in the earlier works of Śrīkantha and Sudarśana Sūri.

1 *Tātparya Candrīkā* of Vyāsātīrtha with Comm., *Prakāśa*, by Rāgha-vendra Tīrtha, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore.

2 Op cit., Vol. I, p 72.

3 *Yukti-mallikā* of Vādirāja Svāmin.

4 Cf. यद्वा कश्चिदुपक्रमादिना शिव एव वेदान्ततात्पर्यावधारणमत्र प्रतिज्ञायत इत्याह, तत्तु पूर्वादि-करणोदाहृतवचनैः प्रत्यधिकरणं भाष्योक्तश्रुत्यादिभिः विष्णुपरोपक्रमादितार्पर्यलिङ्गैः विष्णो-वेव तात्पर्यावधारणोपपादनेन मां विश्वेऽभिवर्त्ते मामित्यादिसृष्ट्याच विरुद्धत्वादपेक्षलं बोध्यम् ॥

Candrīkā Prakāśa, p. 72.

Mr. Chintamani seems to have been blissfully innocent of the fact that Sudarśana Sūri, the illustrious commentator on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja shows clear traces of his acquaintance with the verse 'उपक्रमो...' of which he quotes more or less the first half :

प्रमाणान्तराविरोधश्च तात्पर्यलिङ्गं । उपक्रमोपसंहारादिषु अपूर्वत्वमपि तात्पर्य-
लिङ्गतया ह्युक्तं । अभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलमिति । अपूर्वत्वं च साधकबाधकप्रमाणागोचरत्वं¹ ।

Sudarśana, apart from the probability of his having been slightly earlier than Akhandānanda, is not likely to have borrowed the verse from him. Mr. Chintamani, had he known Sudarśana's familiarity with the verse, would certainly have convicted him also of misappropriation. Sudarśana, then, has entirely escaped scot-free, thanks to the writer's ignorance. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the verse goes back to some source far earlier than Sudarśana.

We are therefore constrained to observe that Mr. Chintamani has come out rather very badly in the first part of his self-imposed task of settling the date of Śrīkantha. He seems somehow to have missed the royal road to successful research which lies in a patient collection of all available and unimpeachable references in the works of Śrīkantha², Madhva and Akhandānanda (if the last has any thing at all to do with the vexed question of Śrīkantha's date) to the views of their predecessors and contemporaries and then proceed to examine how far any one of them presupposes, quotes or criticises the other. Mr. Chintamani however seems to have set about it in the wrong way by

1 *Śrī Bhāṣya* with the Comm of Sudarśana, p 328, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

2 The phrase पूर्वाचार्यैः क्लृप्तं at the outset of Śrīkantha's Bhāṣya is taken by some to pre-suppose a reference to Madhva also and thus is relied upon to establish Śrīkantha's posteriority to all the three famous Bhāṣyakāra's of S. India. But firstly too rigid a numerical significance need not be attached to the casual use of the plural which could be explained otherwise, secondly, the required number of three Bhāṣyakāras can still be made up without including Madhva among predecessors of Śrīkantha; and thirdly because of the surmise of Madhva's probable inclusion in the phrase being negatived by traces of his having used Śrīkantha.

attempting to make the whole problem turn on a stray quotation by Madhva of a certain verse "from an anonymous but contemporary work."

II

THE BRHAT SAMHITĀ

Worse is the fate that hath overtaken him in the other part of his self-imposed task of proving Madhva to have misappropriated the verse 'उपक्रमो' from the *Tattvadīpana*.

Mr. Chintamani remarks rather patronisingly, "This verse, in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya through an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brhat Samhitā*". (Italics mine). To be sure, Madhva quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 4, from the *Brhat Samhitā*; but there is nothing in this to occasion such a huge surprise. However, he manages to overcome his surprise and proffers a critical piece of advice to his readers that "this *Brhat Samhitā* ought to be differentiated from the astronomical work of the same name." The advice is quite unwarranted since not even a tyro of Madhva's works would confound for a moment, the two *Brhat Samhitās*. Perhaps, it is but the recrudescence of a subjective experience of the writer himself! Mr. Chintamani, however, finally declares for the supreme enlightenment of his readers "A *Brhat Samhitā* has been published as No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series. I have carefully examined the work and the verse in question does not occur anywhere in that work. Perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya " (Italics mine). All the trouble and credit of this amazing process of research is grievously annulled when it is revealed that No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is not a *Brhat Samhitā* merely but a *Brhad Brahma Samhitā*!! 'नहि त्रिषुको द्विषु इत्युच्यते' must certainly have escaped the notice of Mr. Chintamani! No wonder, therefore, that despite strenuous efforts Mr. Chintamani could not trace the verse quoted by Madhva from the *Brhat Samhitā* in the *Brhad Brahma Samhitā*. One cannot, therefore, but heartily pity him for having wasted his critical acumen in the wrong place!

Granting that the verse quoted by Madhva could not be found in the misleading No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series, it does not prove that the same must necessarily have been misappropriated from Akhandānanda's work or for the matter of that, even from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya*.¹ The whole serio-comic is badly exposed when it is brought to light that Madhva has quoted not only the unfortunate verse 'उपक्रमा०' from the *Brhat Saṃhitā* (whatever it is), but also not less than twenty-five others in various places in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. Nor is this all. In his commentary on the *Śrī Bhāgarata* Madhva again quotes as many as eleven lines from the *Brhat Saṃhitā*. I may take this opportunity of recording all the verses quoted from the *Brhat Saṃhitā* for obvious reasons.

यत्रानवसरोऽन्यत्र पदं तत्र प्रतिष्ठितं ।
वाक्यं वेति सतां नीतिः सावकाशो न तद्वेत्² ॥
उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये³ ॥
शिरो नारायणः पक्षः दक्षिणः सन्य एव च
प्रद्युम्नश्चान्निरुद्धश्च संदेहो वासुदेवकः
नारायणोऽथ संदेहो वासुदेवः शिरोपि वा
पुच्छं संकर्षणः प्रोक्त एक एव तु पञ्चधा
अङ्गाङ्गित्वेन भगवान्क्रीडते पुरुषोत्तमः
ऐश्वर्यान्नविरोधश्च चिन्त्यस्तास्मिन् जनार्दने
अतर्क्ये हि कुतस्तर्कस्त्वप्रमेये कुतः प्रमा⁴ ॥
यथाहि पौरुषं सूक्तं विष्णोरेवाभिधायकं
न तथा सर्ववेदाश्च वेदाङ्गानि च नारद⁵ ॥
आत्मान्तरात्मेति हरिरेक एव द्विधा स्थितः
निविष्टो हृदये नित्यं रसं पिबति कर्मजम्⁶ ॥
परस्परविरोधे तु वाक्यानां यत्र युक्तता
तत्रैवार्थः पारिज्ञेयः नावाक्या युक्तिरिष्यते
विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः
तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थोन्ववेक्ष्यते⁷ ॥

1 I hope, Mr. Chintamani would not have us believe that Madhva's references to and citations from a *Śabdānirṇaya* are really from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series¹

2 Madhva on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 1. 3 Ibid., i, 1, 4. 4 Ibid., i, 1, 15.

5 Ibid., i, 2, 26.

6 Ibid., i, 2, 11. 7 Ibid., ii, 1, 18.

एकोऽविभक्तः परमः पुरुषो विष्णुरुच्यते
 प्रकृतिः पुरुषः कालश्च एते विभागतः
 चतुर्भिस्तु महान्प्रोक्तः पञ्चमाहं कृतिर्मता
 तद्विभागेन जायन्ते आकाशाद्याः पृथक् पृथक् ।
 यो विभागी विकारः स सोऽविकारः परो हरिः
 अविभागात्परानन्दः नित्यो नित्यगुणात्मकः
 विभागो ह्यल्पशक्तित्वं न तदस्ति जनार्दन¹ ॥
 न युक्तियोगाद्वाक्यानि निराकार्याण्यपि क्वचित्
 विरोध एव वाक्यानां युक्तयो न तु युक्तयः² ॥
 श्रोत्रादीनां तु पञ्चैव तथा वागादि पञ्चकं
 मनोबुद्धिसहायानि द्वादशैवेन्द्रियाणि तु
 विषयद्रवणात्तेषामिन्द्रियत्वमुदाहृतं
 तेषां नियामकः प्राणः स्थित एवाखिलप्रभुः³ ॥
 पार्थिवानां शरीराणामर्थेन पृथिवी स्मृता
 इतरेषां त्रिभागिन्य आपस्तेजस्तु भागतः
 इति सामान्यतो ज्ञेयं भेदस्तु प्रतिपूरुषं
 स्वर्गस्थानां शरीराणामर्थं तेज उदाहृतं⁴ ॥
 न देवानभिकांक्षितं कुत एव हरेर्गुणान्
 प्राजापत्यास्त्र चार्षेच गान्धर्वादीनपि क्वचित्
 कृष्यादिषु विशेषेतु दोषो नैव विशेषतः⁵ ॥
 अनादि जन्मसंबन्धं निभेत्सु पापपञ्जरम् ।
 यावत्या सेवया शक्यं तावत्कार्यं न संशयः
 यावद्दूरे स्थितो गम्यात्तावद्गन्तव्यमेव हि
 इह जन्मान्तरे वापि तावत्यैव तु दर्शनं
 श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च
 परे गुरौ च याः भक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः
 एषा सेवेति संप्रोक्ता यया तद्दर्शनं भवेत्⁶ ॥
 विद्वेषिणोऽप्युदासीना भक्ता अपि न संशयः
 हरेर्हि सदनं यान्ति व्यक्तं भक्तैस्तु गम्यते
 आरभ्य तम आमुक्तेः कृष्णस्य सदनं यतः
 अव्यक्तहरिलोकादन्येषामस्य लोका⁷ ॥
 यथेष्टभावनान्निष्कुरन्तुभूः परिकीर्तितः

1 Ibid., ii, 3, 7.

2 Ibid., ii, 1, 26.

3 Ibid., ii, 4, 18.

4 Ibid., ii, 4, 23.

5 Ibid., iii, 4, 42.

6 Ibid., iii, 4, 50.

7 Bhāgarata Tātparyā of Madhva, II, 7. 34.

उदधिः कर्मणामीशः सर्वः पूर्णयुगो यतः
 सत्यः केवलसारत्वात् नियमो नियते रजः¹ ॥
 तपः प्रियं सदा विष्णोस्तपसैवाप्यतै हारिः
 स्वयं च तपसैवेदं विभर्ति ज्ञानमेव हि
 तपःशब्दाभिधं प्रोक्तं ज्ञानरूपो हरिर्यतः
 ज्ञानवीर्यो ज्ञानबलो ज्ञानानन्द उदाहृतः² ॥

I have also "carefully examined" No. (8 of the Ānandāśrama Series and not one of the verses quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* "occur in that work anywhere" which proves that apart from the obvious difference in their respective titles, the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* should not be 'confounded' with the *Br̥had Brahma Saṃhitā* as is most regrettably done by Mr Chintamani. It will be news to him that Madhva himself makes a distinction between *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* and a *Brahma Saṃhitā* and actually quotes from the latter. The identity of the latter, however, with No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is tho' probable yet unproven.

A patient and sympathetic attention to the large number of verses quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* in his works, would show that they are on a variety of topics. A close scrutiny of their order and arrangement would also reveal many interesting facts. For instance, two or more verses are sometimes quoted consecutively dealing with a single topic. At other times, a half of a preceding or following verse is found together with a given complete verse. The interesting variety of topics with which they deal -- theology, psychism, devotion, the physical constitution of bodies, etymology, and rules of interpretation go a long way to indicate that they are genuine quotations from a work now lost to us.

It is also significant to note that besides 'उपक्रमो' there are four other verses quoted in different contexts but all dealing with the proper method of interpretation and reconciliation of texts which proves that the verse 'उपक्रमो.....' has a legitimate place in the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* and was not (and in fact could not have been) falsely ascribed to an imaginary *Br̥hat Saṃhitā*.

1 Op. cit., ii, 2, 7.

2 Op. cit., ii, 9, 24.

Another important fact to be noticed in this connection is that one of the verses concerning the canons of interpretation cited by Madhva from the *Brhat Samhitā* and later on quoted by Vyāsārāja Svāmin in his *Nyāyāmṛta* is seen to be quoted and passed over in silence by Madhusūdana Sarasvati in the *Advaita Siddhi*.¹ Now, from what we know of Madhusūdana, we can safely say that he would certainly have denied the genuineness of the text from the *Brhat Samhitā* rather than taken the trouble of quoting it and passing it over. Instances are not wanting² wherein Madhusūdana refuses to subscribe to the genuineness of texts cited by Madhva. Hence we may safely conclude that Madhusūdana had no difficulty in admitting the text 'विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः' as a genuine citation from a genuine work known as *Brhat Samhitā*.

The foregoing observations would establish the genuineness of the *Brhat Samhitā* once extant but no longer available. Instances are not rare of 'Samhitās' such as the present one which are known to have existed once through quotations in later works; but which to-day, have passed into the limbo of the forgotten and the irrecoverable. Rāmānuja and Madhva both quote from a *Parama Samhitā*; Sudarśana quotes from a *Śrīkālotīara* and Madhva again quotes from a *Prakāśa Samhitā* all of which are now completely lost. The present writer, however, has great pleasure in announcing to such as are interested that a small fragment of the *Prakāśa Samhitā* is extant and that a transcription from an old manuscript copy of it (also extant) is still in his possession. There is no inherent impossibility in the *Brhat Samhitā* having been extant in the times of Madhva nor is there any reason to discredit the Ācārya's statement so far as we know.

Anent "the Kātharāyana-Mātharāyana sources from which he (Madhva) is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts," time

1 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः ।

तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थान्वयेक्ष्यते ॥ quoted in the *Pūrvapakṣa*, *Advaita Siddhi* p. 105, Śrī Vidyā Press, Kumbhakonam, 1893. The same text would be found quoted by Madhva under 11, 1, 18 (*Vedānta Sūtra*) and extracted on p. 237 ante.

2 'सत्यभिदे'ति तु न भेदाभ्यासः । एतद्वाक्यस्य अर्थोपपत्तिरिति । Op. cit.. p. 286.

and patient research alone would bring to light most of the untraceable *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* quoted by Madhva in his works; but the attitude of mind which posits in the name of Madhva *Śrutis* even he has not cared to 'fabricate' will neither farther research in that direction by one single step nor reflect credit on the maker of such wild accusations.

Now for the question whether Akhaṇḍānanda is to be regarded as the *de facto* author of the verse 'उपक्रमोऽप्युपनिषत्' ; which, "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya." (Italics mine). The insinuation embodied in the italicised phrase needs no comment. On Mr. Chintamani's own showing, the verse goes back to an earlier source. I am really surprised at Mr. Chintamani's serious misrepresentation and deliberate misquotation from Akhaṇḍānanda. Says he "Akhaṇḍānanda refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्तिश्च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये’ ॥

Edition of the *Tattvadīpana* in

the Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687."

But the real and undistorted fact is that Akhaṇḍānanda refers to the verse with the remark :

तथा च संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासो’ इति

Mr. Chintamani substitutes अत्र for तथाच in the original and altogether omits 'इति' of Akhaṇḍānanda and offers an emended

1 The fact is that Madhva has cited only Kāṣāyaṇa and Māṭhara *Śrutis* in his works besides others but nowhere has he cited anything like Kātharāyaṇa and Māṭharāyaṇa *Śrutis*. Perhaps the *Śrutis* foisted on Madhva by Mr. Chintamani are the result of his original researches into the works of Madhva ! A learned critic of Madhva is said to have confounded the Tura *Śruti* of Madhva with Catura *Śruti*. Evidently Mr. Chintamani has tried to improve upon this prototype.

2 The presence of this इति coupled with तथाच... would seem to indicate that Akhaṇḍānanda himself was quoting it faithfully from some earlier source.

version. But this is playing tricks with evidence which cannot go undetected. I can only add how painful it is for me to expose the frantic attempts of Mr. Chintamani to foist the verse on Akhaṇḍānanda by such artificial means of questionable probity.

Far from emanating for the first time either from Akhaṇḍānanda or his preceptor, the *Tātparyā Līngas* (enumerated in the verse) have been the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins from time immemorial. The six *Tātparyā Līngas* or principles of interpretation are as old as the *Vedānta Sūtras*. In fact, these enjoyed among the Vedāntins the same recognition and importance which the Mīmāṃsakas gave to another set of six canons of interpretation: श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्¹। the order of authority here being in the ascending order from the last:

श्रुत्यादीनामतःषण्णामेकार्थोपनिपातिनां ।

पूर्वं पूर्वं बलीयः स्याद्बुबलं चोत्तरोत्तरम्² ॥

There is a remarkable parallelism³ between the two sets of canons and it is not altogether rare to find even the Mīmāṃsakas making use of the canons of their compeers, the Vedāntins. References to अपूर्वता, फलं and अर्थवाद are common enough in Mīmāṃsā literature :--

प्रतीयते विधिश्चायं बलीयानर्थवादतः ।

प्रधान्यात्प्रक्रमस्थत्वाद्प्राप्तविषयत्वतः ॥

उपक्रमस्थत्वाच्चासंज्ञातविरोधो विधिर्निर्विघ्नमेव स्वार्थं बोधयन्नुपसंहारस्थं स्वरुद्धमर्थवादं लक्षणां नयति⁴ ॥

फलार्थेषु गुणेषु स्याद्वाक्यभेदोऽर्थभेदतः ।

उपक्रमोपसंहारसाम्याच्चात्रैकवाक्यता⁵ ॥

1 *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* iii, 3, 14.

2 *Śāstradīpikā*, p. 249, Bombay, 1915.

3 Cf. उपक्रमादिलिङ्गानां बलीयो ह्युत्तरोत्तरं ।
श्रुत्यादेः पूर्वपूर्वं तु ब्रह्मनर्कविनिर्णयात् ॥

4 *Śāstradīpikā* p. 91.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 83,

The speculative age of the Upanisads which had already given currency to a number of new technical terms in logic¹ could not possibly have failed to evolve canons of interpretation corresponding to 'उपक्रमो०'. Bādarāyana himself makes striking use of some of them : अभ्यास, फलं and उपपत्ति. In the *Samanvaya Sūtra* तत्तु समन्वयात्, he tacitly admits the application of all the *Tātparyā Līngas* in arriving at a satisfactory interpretation of the divergent testimony of the Upanisads in regard to the nature of Brahman. He himself makes significant use of *abhyāsa* : आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात् ; upapatti : अन्तरउपपत्तेः अनुपपत्तेस्तु न शरीरः and of फल. Śaṃkara notes Audulomi's resort to *arīhāvāda* in his commentary.²

Prakāśātman himself in his *Śabdānirṇaya* declares that the identity of the individual with the Supreme is established by the proper application of the *Līngas* उपक्रम etc., in the interpretation of texts. His own statement,

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं !

अर्थवादोपपत्ति च यतो जीवस्ततः परः ॥

does not give the impression that the '*Līngas*' herein brought together originate for the first time from him. On the contrary, Prakāśātman is visibly anxious to find support for his thesis in the hoary interpretational traditions of the Vedānta as embodied in the verse 'उपक्रमो०'. This is quite clear from his own commentary on the verse : यस्मिन्वाक्ये षड्विध तात्पर्यलिङ्गं यस्मिन्नर्थे गम्यते तद्वाक्यं तत्परमित्यध्यवसीयते whereupon he cites the relevant texts embodying these *Līngas* and concludes : एवं यतः वेदान्तवाक्येषु जीवस्य ब्रह्मात्मतायां वाक्यतात्पर्यलिङ्गानां षण्णां समुच्चयो ऽवक्तव्यो वा यथायौगं गम्यते

1 Cf. "In the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kāṭhupanīṣad* etc, there occur such terms as *tarka* (debate), *yukti* (continuous argument), *jalpa* (wrangling), *vitandā* (cavil), *chala* (quibble), *nirṇaya* (ascertainment), *prayojana* (purpose), *pramāṇa* (proof), *prameya* (object of knowledge)" etc. *History of Indian Logic*, Vidyabhushan, p, 23, Calcutta 1921.

2 'चितितन्मात्रेण तदात्मकत्वादित्यौडुलोमिः' * * * * अत एव जक्षणादिसंकीर्तनमापि दुःखाभावमात्रमिषायं स्तुत्यर्थं ॥ इत्यौडुलोमिराचार्यो मन्यते ।

तत् परमात्मैवार्थं जीवः¹ ॥ Attention must be drawn to his use of the terms तात्पर्यलिङ्गं etc. without any explanation and to his reference even to the exact number of them as six inspite of the fact that actually seven *Liṅgas* are embodied in the verse given by him. The point is that उपक्रम and उपसंहार came to be treated as one *Linga* and the assumption of this attitude by Prakāśātman (see comm., ante) without any explanation also shows that even by the time of Prakāśātman and necessarily long before him, the Vedāntins had effected the amalgamation which continued to pass muster. This again, presupposes the popularity of the seven *Liṅgas* from very early days and Prakāśātman could not certainly have invented² them. Neither was he the first person to codify them for reasons already detailed. On the contrary, Prakāśātman seems to have simply adopted the well-known verse *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdanirnaya*,

The author of the *Pañcapādikā* has clearly anticipated the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* though he does not make out an elaborate inventory of them which is done by Prakāśātman in his *Pañcapādikā-varaṇa*. Padmapāda's several references,

पदानां परस्परानवच्छिन्नार्थानां अनन्याकाङ्क्षाणां अव्यतिरिक्तैकसंप्रतिपादक-
मात्रान्वयः (समन्वयः³) ।

तथासति, तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानां निरुपचरितब्रह्मात्मैक्यावगमः पदसमन्वय-विना-
कारणेन स्वेच्छामात्रेण संपदादिपरः परिकल्प्येत । तदवगमानिमित्तं च मिथ्याज्ञाना-
पायपूर्विका विस्मृतहस्तगतसुवर्णावातिवत् ब्रह्मप्राप्ति-फलमनुभवारूढमपहृयेत्⁴ ॥

तदेवं बृद्धव्यवहारानुसारेणैव समन्वयानुसरणे⁵ सति तद्रम्यं ब्रह्म ॥

- 1 *Śabdanirnaya* pp. 69-70. The most significant and 'tell-tale' lacuna here being the absence of the finite verb which betrays the verse in its true colors as an excerpt *mutatis mutandis*, it is easy to see that the verse is not a self-sufficing composition of Prakāśātman.
- 2 Nor is Śamkara the inventor, much less the codifier of the *tātparyā liṅgas* for the first time as is fondly believed by some. In fact Śamkara has nowhere referred to all the six *tātparyā liṅgas* in a connected manner in one place, nor given the verse embodying them in his *Bhāṣya* beyond noting in one place. उपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यामैकार्थतावगमात् ॥ (III, 3, 36),
- 3 *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda, p. 84, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.
- 4 Op. cit., p. 91.
- 5 Op. cit., p. 98,

prove that he was fully aware of the six *Tūtparyā Liṅgas* and the use that Śaṁkara desires to be made of them.

The prevalence of these *Tūtparyā Liṅgas* long before Prakāśātman is established by Padmapāda's references to फल, अर्थवाद etc. and by Vācaspati Miśra's references to some of them :—

नचैतान्युपक्रमपरामशोपसंहारैः क्रियासमभिहारेणीदृगात्मतत्त्व अभिदधति तत्पराणि सन्ति शक्यानि शक्रेणाप्युपचरितार्थानि कर्तुं, अभ्यासेहि भुयस्त्वमर्थस्य भवति¹ ॥

येनवाक्यमुपक्रम्यते येनचोपसंह्रियते तदेव वाक्यार्थ इति शाब्दा.² ॥

Reference has already been made to Sudarśana Sūri's familiarity with the verse.

Prakāśātman brings out clearly all the six *Tūtparyā Liṅgas* anticipated by Padmapāda :

तच्च तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्नर्थे वाक्यस्योपक्रमोपसंहारैकरूप्यं³ यस्याच्चार्यस्य पुनः पुनरभ्यासो यस्मिन्नर्थे फलविशेषसंकीर्तनं अपूर्वार्थप्रमेयताच्च यच्चार्थवादोपादानमुपपत्तिभिरुपपादनं चेत्यादीनि लिङ्गानि भवन्ति, तस्य वाक्यस्य तस्मिन्नर्थे तात्पर्यं⁴ ।

तस्मादुक्तानि तात्पर्यलिङ्गानि ब्रह्मणि दृश्यन्ते⁵ । and indicates at length the relevant Upanisadic texts embodying them.

It will be seen from the foregoing passage of the *Vivaraṇa* that its author has indicated at length the application of the six *Tūtparyā Liṅgas* embodied in the well-known verse 'उपक्रमो' without himself quoting it in the *Vivaraṇa* but which he gives *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdamanṛaya* where the last quarter यतो जीवस्ततः परः seems to have been specially introduced in place of the regular one : लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ।

1 *Bhāmātī* of Vācaspati Miśra, p. 8, (with Kalpataru and Parimala) Nirṇayasagar Press, 1917.

2 Op. cit., p 103.

3 Mark the reference to उपक्रम and उपसंहार as one *liṅga* here also without any attempt to explain the same.

4 *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman, p 235, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, 1892.

5 Ibid.

7 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.].

Now, Akhaṇḍānanda, after making the necessary comments on the *Vivaraṇa* passage quoted above, cites the full verse too, which sums up the *Līngas* not with the remark अत्रसंग्रहश्लोकः which would mean that the *Śloka* is from his own pen but with the significant remark तथाच संग्रहश्लोकः 'उपक्रमो' इति' which implies that he is eager to bring the various texts quoted and correlated with their particular *Līngas* by Prakāśātman himself into line with the well-known verse giving the *Tātparyā Līngas*. तथाच तात्पर्यलिङ्गसंग्रहादकः प्रसिद्धः उपक्रमोपसंहा निर्णय इत्ययं श्लोकोऽस्मिन्नर्थे जागर्तव्यः—such will be the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion we have to draw from the manner of Akhaṇḍānanda's introducing the verse. I am afraid, Mr. Chintamani has no right to evade this natural interpretation of Akhaṇḍānanda after having purposely distorted his statement and given a curiously perverted misquotation.

We have already demonstrated Śrīkantha's priority to Akhaṇḍānanda. Even if our reasonings may not convince everybody, it is admitted by Mr. Chintamani himself that Śrīkantha was not removed from Akhaṇḍānanda by more than a couple of decades. In any case, it is clearly demonstrable that the verse goes back for earlier than both Śrīkantha and Akhaṇḍānanda. Śrīkantha cites the verse with the remark "वेदान्तवाक्यानां ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यनिर्णायकानि कानि लिङ्गानीति चेदुपक्रमादानि तथा पठन्ति² 'उपक्रमो...' इति³" which is coolly and completely omitted by Mr. Chintamani. The phrase तथापठन्ति attests the hoary antiquity of the verse in question. Śrīkantha, as a predecessor of both Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda, could not have borrowed the verse from Akhaṇḍānanda unless Mr. Chintamani now revises the dates he has assigned to both Akhaṇḍānanda and Śrīkantha. Secondly, if Śrīkantha had been in any manner indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda for the verse, he would have made the fact clearer by some such acknowledg-

1 *Tattvadvāpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, p. 687, Benares Sanskrit Series.

2 Śrīkantha *Brahma Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya*, p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Attention has already been drawn to the significance of the term. See *ante* p. 241.

ment as तथोक्तं तत्त्वदीपने. The phrase तथा पठन्ति seems to smack more of indebtedness to some Purāṇic source.¹

This is happily confirmed by another quotation from some Śaiva Āgama work which Śrīkaṇṭha gives in which the *Tātparyā Līngas* are clearly presupposed :—

य उपक्रमादिभिस्तात्पर्यनिर्णयः तदेव वेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणमित्युच्यते । तथाह्युच्यते

अज्ञानप्रभवं दुःखं ज्ञानं तस्य निवर्तकं ।

सर्ववेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणं तत्प्रवर्तकं ॥

श्रवणं नाम वाक्यानां वैदिकानां परावरे ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शिवे तात्पर्यनिर्णयः ॥ इति² ॥

This Āgama work must have been at least a century earlier than Śrīkaṇṭha and if the *Līngas* “उपक्रम etc.,” are to be found presupposed in it, it readily stands to reason that they were far earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda — whatever his date.

Rāmānuja, who was certainly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda in one place remarks :

उपक्रमविरोध्युपसंहारवाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयो न घटते³ ।

The probability of the verse ‘उपक्रमो...’ going back to some Purāṇic source (as supposed by Madhva), is endorsed by some quotations in Vidyāranya’s *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha* :

एतच्छ्रुततात्पर्यस्यैव पुराणेषु प्रतिपादित्वात् ।

तथाहि

श्रोतव्यं श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्रोतपत्तिभिः ।

मत्वाच सततं ध्येय एते दर्शनहेतवः ॥

तत्र तावन्मुनिश्रेष्ठाः श्रवणं नाम केवलं ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शक्तितात्पर्यनिर्णयः⁴ ॥

1 Cf. मनोमहान्मतिब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरिश्चरः ।

प्रज्ञासंविच्चिनिश्चैव स्थितिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya i, 4, 1.

2 *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya* p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Rāmānuja’s *Vedārtha Saṃgraha*, Pandit Reprints, p. 47.

4 *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha*, Bengali Edn., Baṣumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta, pp. 7-8.

The exact identity of the Purāṇa is not however clear. There seems, however, to be some distant parallelism in tone to these verses in some of the *Brhat Samhitā* verses cited by Madhva.

श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च ।

परे गुरौ च या भाक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः ॥

The reference to श्रवण, मनन and निदिध्यासन in both the sets of verses cannot simply be accidental. Nor is it without significance that “the *Līngas* such as उपक्रम etc.,” should have been referred to in both the works — the one cited by Vidyāranya and the other by Madhva. Our quest for the parentage of the verse ‘उपक्रमो...’ leads us to unexpected quarters. Amalānanda in his *Śūstradarpana*¹ seems to discern some of the *Tātparyā Līngas* in some *Śruti* texts ! Granted that the verse ‘उपक्रमो’ is a genuine Purāṇic text, it can readily be traced to some *Śruti* text in conformity with a well-known Mīmāṃsaka dictum. It may not be entirely idle to point out for the serious consideration of scholars that Nārāyaṇa² in his commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s *Siddhānta Bindu* actually quotes the verse ‘उपक्रमो’ “in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*” as a *Śruti* text which whatever we may think of it, is much more startling and monstrous than Madhva’s mere ascription of it to “an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brhat Samhitā* !”

However that may be, the suggestion may not after all be out of place here that the ‘*Purāṇa*’ cited by Vidyāranya may be identical with the source referred to by Madhva as *Brhat Samhitā*. Not infrequently, the texts and sources referred to by Madhva are found to be corroborated by earlier and later Advaitins. I shall bring my article to a close by referring to only one such instance of the citation of the verse :

1 श्रुतिः सच्चिदानन्दैकरसमेकात्मभूतं ब्रह्मोपक्रमपरामर्शोपसंहारैकरूप्यात्तात्पर्येणावगमयन्ती नेप-
चारमर्हति ॥ Bengali Edn., p. 656, Lotus Library, Śāka 1839.

2 उपक्रमोपसंहारावगम्योऽप्युर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवाद्गोपयन्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

इति श्रुत्या प्रकृतलिङ्गवद्वेदोपेत एव श्रुतीनां तात्पर्यान्तरं ।

Siddhānta Bindu with Comm. of Nārāyaṇa, p. 238, Benares Sanskrit Series, 65, 1928.

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखं ।

अस्तोभमनवयं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

quoted by Madhva from the *Skānda* in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* among a number of other verses from the same source which is corroborated by Padmapāda in his *Pañcapādikā* :

तथा च पौराणिकाः “ अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्ध ”

The verse ‘अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं’ is as popular and authoritative among the Vedāntins as ‘उपक्रमोपसंहारौ’ etc. Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* is fully confirmed by Sudarśana Sūri’s classical commentary on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*² while its Purāṇic genuineness is admitted by Padmapāda.

It is not improbable that in the absence of such an earlier admission of and cross reference to the Purāṇic authenticity of this verse, Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* would certainly have been questioned by born sceptics and Madhva-phobes like Mr. Chintamani. Providence alone has to be thanked for yet preserving — sometimes prominently and at other times completely hidden from the searching eyes of enthusiastic researchers — some traces of the numerous texts cited by Madhva ; and in the interests of historical and critical scholarship let us hope that many more texts and sources referred to by Madhva will in the near future be brought to light.

1 *Pañcapādikā* p 82,

2 *Śrūta Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, pp. 11-12, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

PALI CHRONICLES

BY

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The *Dīpavaṃsa* or the Chronicle of the Island of Lāṅkā is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced in a number of verses in the *Parivārapāṭha* of the *Vinayapitaka*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* is an authoritative work well-known in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa, and as a matter of fact the great Pali commentator has copiously quoted from it in the introductory portion of his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. Dr. Oldenberg has cited and translated the book into English. He says that the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance both being based on the historical introduction to the great commentary of the *Mahāvihāra*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* follows step by step and almost word for word the traces of the original. According to Oldenberg the *Dīpavaṃsa* cannot have been written before 302 A. D. because its narrative extends till that year. If we compare the language and the style in which the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are written, it leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. The *Dīpavaṃsa* was so popular in Ceylon that King Dhātusena ordered it to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A. D. (Vide the *Dīpavaṃsa* edited by Oldenberg, Introduction, pp. 8-9) Dr. Geiger has published a valuable treatise known as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* (1904).¹ An idea of its contents can be gathered from the summary given below.

1 *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, Colombo, 1908.

The first chapter gives an account of Buddha's first visit to the island of Lankā. Gotama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Lankā, a dwelling place fit for saints. He foresaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Aśoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Lankā and drove the Yakkhas, inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Mapiakkhika of Kalyāṇi.

The Dīpavamsa then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahāsammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavatthu and Rāhulabhadra was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made of many other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahāsammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the second council is also given. The first council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ānanda. The second council was held during the reign of Kālāsoka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahāsāṅghikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heretics arose, e. g., the Gokulikas, the Ekabboharikas, the Bahussutiyas, etc. In all there were eighteen sects — seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor schools.

The *Dipavamsa* further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candagutta and son of Bimbisāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 vihāras all over the Jambudvīpa. The third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the council was over the Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mahisa, Aparantaka, Mahārattha, Yona, Himavata, Suvannabhūmi, and Lankā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The *Dipavamsa* gives a brief account of the colonization of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the King of Vanga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting the cause of Buddhism. Sihabāhu, King of Vanga, enraged at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the sea-port towns of Suppāraka and Bharukaccha and later on came to Lankādīpa. Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānampiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

It was during the reign of Devānampiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Lankā through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānampiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Lankā which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānampiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king

were weak. The Damilas came over to Lanḁā from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in Dutthagāmaṇi, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. Dutthagāmaṇi at the head of a huge army drove the Damilas out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, Dutthagāmaṇi appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the Lohapāsāda, nine storeys in height, the Mahāthūpa, and many other vihāras. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Dutthagāmaṇi was followed by a number of kings, among them Vattagāmaṇi was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the bhikkhus recorded in written books the text of the three Pitakas and also the Atthakathā, Vattagāmaṇi was also succeeded by a number of important kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of king Mahāsena who reigned for 27 years from circa 325 to 352 A. D.

At the close of the 4th century A. D. there existed in Ceylon, an older work, a sort of chronicle of the
 Mahāvamsa - its sources history of the island from very early times.
 The work was a part of the Atthakathā which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pali verses. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it, the Mahāvamsa is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later carried down to the reign of Mahāsena (4th century A. D.) with whose reign the Mahāvamsa comes to an end. Of this work, the Dipavamsa presents the first clumsy redaction in Pali verses. The Mahāvamsa is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the Dipavamsa as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author The author of the Mahāvamsa is known as Mahānāman.

A well-known passage of the Cūlavamsa alludes to the fact that King Dhātusena bestowed a thousand
 Date pieces of gold and gave orders to write a

dīpikā on the Dipavamsa. This dīpikā has been identified by Fleet with the Mahāvamsa; and if this identification be correct, then the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century A. D., and about this time the Mahāvamsa was composed.

The historicity of the work is established by the following
Histicity of the work facts :—

(a) As to the list of kings before Asoka, namely the nine Nandas, Candagutta and Bimbisāra, the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agrees with canonical writings, and in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition. In the number of years of Candagutta's reign, the Ceylonese tradition agrees with the Indian. Candagutta's councillor Cāṇaka (Cānakya) is also known.

(b) The conversion of Ceylon, according to the Chronicles, was the work of Mahinda, son of Asoka, and this is confirmed to a considerable extent by the fact that Asoka twice in his inscriptions (Rock Edicts XIII & II) mentions Ceylon to be one of the countries where he sent his religious missionaries, and provided for distribution of medicines. It receives further support from Hiuen Tsang who mentions Mahendra, a brother of Asoka, expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was preached in Sinhala. Even before Mahinda, relations existed between India and Ceylon, for the chronicles relate that Asoka sent to Devānam-piyatissa presents for his sacred consecration as the king of Ceylon.

(c) An inscription from a relic-casket from Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group gives us the name of Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa who, according to the tradition, presided over the third Council under Asoka's rule. There is no doubt that he is identical with Moggalliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese Chronicles.

(d) The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in a representation of the story on the reliefs of the lower and middle architrave of the East gate of the Sāñci stūpa.

(e) The contemporaneity of Devānampiyatissa with Asoka is established on the internal evidence of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, as well as by archaeological evidence. Another contemporaneity of King Mahāvarman reigning from C. 352-379 A. D. with Samudragupta is established by the Chinese account of Wang Hientse.

(f) There is a general historical reminiscence underlying the stories of three Buddhist Councils recorded in the Chronicles.

But the historical statements are not always infallible; and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an error, and the more will be the influence of legend noticeable. As regards the period from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa, there is a considerable distrust of tradition and traditional chronology. Also during the period from Devānampiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi there is matter for doubt. But in the later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial, and the accounts more trustworthy.

In the ninth month after Buddhahood, when the Lord Buddha was dwelling at Uruvelā, he one day personally went to Lankā and converted a large assembly of Yakkhas as well as a large number of other living beings. After this, he came back to Uruvelā but, again in the fifth year of his Buddhahood when he was residing in the Jetavana, he, in an early morning out of compassion for the Nāgas went to the Nāgadīpa (apparently the north-western part of Ceylon) where he preached the five moral precepts and established the three refuges and converted many Nāgas. The Lord then came back to Jetavana, but, again, in the eighth year of his Buddhahood the Teacher, while dwelling in the Jetavana, went to Kalyāṇi and preached the Dhamma, and then came back to Jetavana.

The Chapter II gives a long list of kings beginning with Mahāsammata from whose race sprang the Great Sage, the Tathāgata. Descendants of this race of kings ruled in Kusāvati, Rājā-

Text — the visit of
the Tathāgata

The Race of Mahā-
sammata

gaha and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Okkāka ruled at Kapilavatthu and was known as the Śākyas. In this line was born Yasodharā, a daughter of king Jayasena, and she was married to Sakka Añjana. They had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpati, who were both married to Suddhodana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sihahanu. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was the Lord Buddha whose consort was Bhaddakaccānā, son was Rāhula, great friend was Bimbisāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The first Buddhist Council¹ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kuśinārā) in the Sattapanni Cave at Rājagaha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand Bhikkhus and a large number of lay men assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upāli. Thera Upāli spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the dhamma; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the Thera's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the Theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council rose after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the canon came to be known as Thera Tradition.

A century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha when Kālāsoka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the ten points of Buddhism. But the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī with their leader, the great Thera Revata, declared that these ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of Bhikkhus then went to Vaiśālī and there met the Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kālāsoka too

1 Prof. Przyłuski's *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66 and 116 should be consulted. Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. P. C. Majumdar published in the *Buddhistic Studies*, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law.

went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the Theras of Pāvā and Avanti. The brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Revata resolved to settle the matter by an *Ubbāhukā* wherein four from each of the two parties were represented. Thera Revata, in order to hold a council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of Bhikkhus, and all of them met in the Vālikārāma and compiled the Dhamma in eight months. The heretical Bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name Mahāsāṅghika.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta under the guidance and presidentship of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Within hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 218 years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king Pāṭaliputta. And, not long after, Sāmanera Nigrodha preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the King became bountiful to the Bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrines. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the Bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so unruly that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid Asokārāma under the presidency of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical Bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such Bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing Bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the Vibhajja-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Three thousand learned Bhikkhus were then

selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great Thera, and they completed their work at the Asokārāma in nine months.

Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sihabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāla; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Boarded on a ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppāraka, but afterwards, embarking again landed in Lankā in the region called Tambapanni, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built cities. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Panduvāsudeva who married Subhaddakaccāna and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Pandukābhaya. Between Pandukābhaya and Abhaya, there was no king for 17 years.

Pandukābhaya's son Mutasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānaṃpiyatissa whose friend was Dhammāsoka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a princeless treasure as a gift. Dhammāsoka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānaṃpiyatissa who was now consecrated as King of Lankā.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggalliputtatissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kāśmīr, Gandhāra, Mahisamandala, Varavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahārattha, Suvannabhūmī (Burma), and to the Yona country. To the lovely island of Lankā, he sent there Mahinda, the Theras Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda, then a monk, came out to Lankā with four Theras Sanghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted Sāmapera. Even on their landing many devas, nāgas and supannas were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith

to them. The wise king Devānampiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and teachings and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great Thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāmeghavanārāma which the Thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers, another vihāra on the Cetiya-pabbata, henceforth known as the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra, which too the Thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to enshrine one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. Upon his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dhammāsoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Missaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the Pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Arittha again to Dhammāsoka to bring the Bodhi-Tree, which at Dhammāsoka's approach, severed of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Arittha then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhi-tree came also Therī Sanghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its Saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahinda who converted the island, Devānampiyatissa continued to build vihāras and thūpas one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, prince Uttiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahinda, who had brought light to the island of Lankā died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rites were observed with great ceremony.

After a reign of ten years Uttiya died, and was followed by Mahāsiva, Sūratissa, two Damīlas, Sena and Guttaka, Asela and

Elāra, a Damila from the Cola country, in succession. Elāra was killed by Dutthagāmaṇi who succeeded the former as King.

Gāmaṇi, for such was his original name, was born of prince Kākavannatissa, overlord of Mahāgāma, and Vihāradevī, daughter of the King of Kalyāṇi. Gāmaṇi was thus descended through the the dynasty of Mahānāga, second brother of Devānampiyatissa. Kākavannatissa had another son by Vihāradevī named Tissa, and both Gāmaṇi and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavannatissa who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises; first, they would never turn away from the Bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damilas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Gāmaṇi gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent, majestic and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Gāmaṇi developed a strong hatred towards the Damilas who had more than once usurped the throne of Lankā, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Damilas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his sons. Gāmaṇi, thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Dutthagāmaṇi. In the meantime King Kākavannatissa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Dutthagāmaṇi and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Dutthagāmaṇi eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars and then went out to fight against the Damilas. He overpowered Damiḷa Chattā, conquered Damiḷa Titthamba and many

other mighty Damila princes and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious and united the whole of Lankā into one kingdom. Gāmanī was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated Maricavatti vihāra which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the Lohapāsāda, but the building up of the Great Thūpa was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i. e., the materials of the thūpa from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of Theras from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Relic-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due eclat, pomp, and ceremony. But ere yet the making of the chatta and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent his younger brother Tissa, and asked him to complete the thūpa, which Tissa did. The ill king passed round the Cetiya on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with Tissa the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. He then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the Theras and Bhikkhus assembled round his bed, and one of the Theras spoke to him on the unconquerable foe of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw a golden chariot came down from the Tusita heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the Tusita heaven.

Dutthagāmanī was succeeded by his brother Saddhā Tissa who ruled for 18 years, and built many
A Long Line of Kings— cetiyas and vihāras. He was followed by
Ten kings Thūlathana, Lañjatissa, Khallātanāga and
Vattagāmanī. The last named was a
famous king during whose reign the Damilas became powerful
and again usurped the throne. Vattagāmanī was thus followed
by Damila Pulahattha, Damila Bāhiya, Damila Panayamāraka,
Damila Pilayamāraka and Damila Dāthika. But the Damilas

were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vattagāmaṇi, who now ruled for a few more years.

After his death, his adopted son Mahācūḷi Mahātissa reigned
 Eleven kings for 14 years with piety and justice. He was followed by Coranāga, Tissa, Siva, Damila Vatuka, Brahman Niliya, Queen Anulā, Kūtakanṇa Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, and Mahādāthika Mahānāga¹. All of them had short reigns and were builders of vihāras and cetiyas. Anulā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Siva, Tissa, Damila Vatuka and Brahman Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all upstarts and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs

After Mahādāthika's death, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, his son,
 Twelve kings followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kanirajānutissa, Cūlābhaya, Queen Sivali, Ilanāga, Candamukhasiva, Yasalālakatissa, Subharāja, Vankanāsikatissaka, Gajabāhukagāmaṇi and Mahallaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worthless, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of vihāras and other religious establishments and in court-intrigues. Two of them, Ilanāga and Subharāja were however comparatively more noted for their acts of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

After the death of Mahallanāga, his son Bhātikatissaka reigned
 Thirteen kings for 24 years. He was followed in succession by Kanitthatissaka, Kujjanāga, Kuñcanāga, S'rināga Tissa (I), Abhayanāga, Sirināga II, Vijayakumāraka Saṃghatissa, Sirisaṃghabodhi, Gothābhaya and Jetthatissa who are grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvamsa. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious

1 In the list of ancient kings of Ceylon the name of Dārubbhatikātissa appears after Damila Vatuka (Vide Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, p. XXXVII).

establishments, and that they carried out the affairs of the kingdom through wars, intrigues, rebellions and local feuds.

The Jetthatissa was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahāsena, who ruled for 27 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvamsa was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Dutthagāmaṇi, but now it was probably brought up-to date.

On his accession to the throne, he forbade the people to give food to any Bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on penalty of a fine of hundred pieces of money. The Bhikkhus thus fell in want, and they left the vihāra which remained empty for nine years. It was then destroyed by the ill-advisers of the king and its riches were removed to enrich the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The king wrought many a deed of wrong upon which his minister Meghavannābhaya became angry and became a rebel. A battle was imminent, but the two former friends met, and the king, repentant of his misdeeds, promised to make good all the harm done to the religious establishments of Lankā. The king rebuilt the Mahāvihāra, and founded amongst others two new vihāras, the Jetavanavihāra and the Manihira vihāra. He was also the builder of the famous Thūpārāma vihāra, as well as of two other nunneries. He also excavated many tanks and did many other works of merit.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the Mahāvamsa deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pali chronicles, has edited the text of the Mahāvamsa for the P. T. S. London and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M. H. Bode. G. Turnour's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Bode has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the Mahāvamsa known as the Mahāvamsatikā (Wamsatthapakāsini revised and edited by Baṭuwantudawe and Nānissara, Colombo, 1895) written by Maḥā-

nāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found in the text. Readers are referred to the Mahāwanse, ed. by Turnour, Ceylon, 1837, Mahāvamsa revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala Baturantudawe, Colombo, 1883, and Cambodjan Mahāvamsa by E. Hardy, J. R. A. S. 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889 (chapter & verse).

It has long been ascertained that both the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa owe their origin to a common source - the Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra monastery, which, evidently was a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of the old theological commentary (Atthakathā) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa respectively, are of opinion that this Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa was composed in Sinhalese prose, interspersed, no doubt with verse in the Pālī language. This book (Mahāvamsa-Atthakathā) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the author of both the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that Atthakathā. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the Dīpavamsa had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the Mahāvamsa, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i. e., to the Atthakathā, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the "author of the Dīpavamsa borrowed not only the materials of his own work, but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the Atthakathā. In fact, a great part of the Dīpavamsa has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the Atthakathā".¹ But the author of the Mahāvamsa is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one

1 Dīpavamsa (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 6.

century and a half later (i. e., the beginning of the 6th century A. D.) than the author of the *Dīpavamsa* when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pali language, he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original

It is well-known that Mahānāma was the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the authorship of the *Dīpavamsa*. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King Mahāsena who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A. D. It was not much later that the *Dīpavamsa* was composed, but as the *Mahāvamsa* was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King Mahāsena with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Atthakathā* could only logically stop its account¹.

But the historical writers of the Mahāvihāra fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of Mahāsena. The *Atthakathā Mahāvamsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of Mahāsena, where both the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* as already noticed came to an end.

That the *Dīpavamsa* was well-known to the author of the *Mahāvamsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvamsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dīpavamsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and cata-

¹ *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 8.

logue than of any connected account. The Mahāvamsa, on the other hand, is elaborate, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Geiger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the Mahāvamsa refers precisely to the Dipavamsa."¹ The well-known passage of the Cūlavamsa (3859), ' Datvā sahaṣṣam dipetum Dipavamsaṁ samādisi ' which Fleet translates as ' he (King Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the Dipavamsa ', also lends support to this view², for this *dīpikā*, Fleet says, is identical with Mahāvamsa.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical ; in the Dipavamsa they are condensed, and in the Mahāvamsa elaborate. After an identical account of the race of Mahāsammatā, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen Bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapanna cave at Rājagaha and composed the collection of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dipavamsa mentions the fourth month after the Master's death as the time at which the first council was held. This was the second Vassa-month, i e., Sāvana. This date is substantially confirmed by that provided by the Mahāvamsa which mentions the bright half of Āsāda, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Sāvana. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dasa-vatthūni* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline ; and 700 Bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kālāsoka ; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the

1 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI.

2 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI — where Geiger quotes Fleet, .

locality where the Council was held. The Mahāvamsa mentions Vālikārāma, whereas the Dipavamsa mentions the Kūtāgārasālā of the Mahāvana monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of the schism in the second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The Dipavamsa states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the Mahāsāṃgīti, and prepared a different redaction of the Scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the Mahāvamsa where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name Mahāsāṃghika. The account of the Third Council is identical. It was held at Pāṭali-putta under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian Kings before Asoka and pieces of historical account connected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that the coming of Vijaya and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese Kings up to Devānampiyatissa and that of the latter's contemporaneity with king Dhammāsoka are for all practical purposes the same. But before the two chronicles take up the account of Mahinda's coming to Ceylon, the Mahāvamsa inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the conversion of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of Moggaliputta Thera. The Mahāvamsa thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great Thera that Mahinda came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa are identical; then follow the identical accounts of Mahinda's entry into the capital, his acceptance of the Mahāvihāra and that of the Cetiyaṣabbata-vihāra, the arrival of the relics, the receiving and coming of the Bodhi Tree, and the Nibbāna of the Thera Mahinda. From Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of Devānampiyatissa himself. The earlier chronicle states that king Devānampiyatissa was consecrated king in the 237th year after the Buddha's death, whereas the Mahāvamsa places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth

month, Maggasira (Oct. -Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹

The account of the kings from the death of Devānampiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the Mahāvamsa is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Dutthagāmaṇi giving as it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Dutthagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the Maricavatti vihāra, the consecrating of the Lohapāsāda, the obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Mahāthūpa, the beginning of the Mahāthūpa, the making of the relic-chamber for Mahāthūpa, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death . whereas the Dīpavamsa touches and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later Kings from Dutthagāmaṇi to Mahāsena in the Dīpavamsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dīpavamsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dīpavamsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest Bhikkhus, he met some wicked Bhikkhus; and knowing them not he asked them the sense of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those Bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Sanghamittā, the account of the vicissitudes of the Mahāvihāra, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's

1 See Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. pp xxxi foll.

sanction for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahāvihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhabited by Bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Thera Tissa and how he was expelled, how the King built the Manihira-vihāra destroying the temples of some Brahmanical gods, and how he built many other ārāmas and vihāras, and a number of tanks and canals for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature of the difference in the accounts of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical; there are only a few discrepancies, e. g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Gutta, Lajjitissa (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjātissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalāla, Abhaya and Tissa. In the case of Sena and Gutta, the Dipavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dipavamsa gives 9 years 6 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 3 months in the earlier chronicle, but in later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalāla is given 8 years 7 months and 7 years 8 months respectively; and the order of the rule of Abhaya and Tissa of the Dipavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissa and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 8 years in place of 22 as given by the Dipavamsa.

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese Chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively

false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles and legends there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause," Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."¹

The very fact that both the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭha-kathā-Mahāvamsa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, ensures us in our belief that they contain real historical facts, for, with the *Atthakathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporary with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that Bimbisāra was a great friend of Buddha, and both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that Gotama was five years older than Bimbisāra, though the duration of the rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this" as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners

1 *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xv.

of Asoka, Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the complete agreement of the Ceylonese and Paurānic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 24, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusāra and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name Canakka (Cāpakya) the Brahman Minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa.

So much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa the chronicles are certainly untrustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e. g., of King Pandukābhaya and Mutasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronise with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa; nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Pandukābhaya's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devānampiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of Tissa and Asoka who exchanged greetings of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devānampiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilised as of value. There are no doubt gaps in the traditional chronology which have been carelessly filled in, notably in the period from Devānampiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi but after Dutthagāmaṇi there is no such careless and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings

and their duration of reigns are creditable. But even where the chronology is doubtful, there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that lies mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Dutthagāmanī. It may, therefore be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be utilised, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the Chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the Chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the Chronicles where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Asoka was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting point of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāra and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B. C. and 563 B. C. respectively.¹

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the Chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the Chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Mahendra or Mahinda, who is, however, represented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all on a sudden by Mahendra or Mahinda.

1 See Mahāvamsa (Geiger); Secs. 5 and 6. Introduction.

Similar mission must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānampiyatissa, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha." ¹

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the *Chronicles* in the relic inscriptions of the Sāñci stūpa No. 2.² He has thus pointed out that Majjhima who is named in the *Mahāvamsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta who appears as his companion in the *Dīpavaṃsa* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious Majjhima' and 'pious Kassapagotta, the teacher of the Himalaya.' In another inscription also Kassapagotta is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. Dundubhissara who is also mentioned in the *Chronicles* as one of the Theras who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as Dadabhisāra along with Gotiputta (i. e., Kotiputta Kassapagotta). The Thera, i. e., Moggaliputta Tissa who is described in the *Chronicles* as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council is also mentioned in another inscription at Moggaliputta. These facts are guarantee enough for carefully utilising the *Chronicles* as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two *Chronicles*. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two *Chronicles* often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and southern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the

1 *Mahāvamsa*, (tr.) p. XIX.

2 *Ibid*, pp. XIX - XX.

Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the Vajjian monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King Kālāsoka in 383/2 B. C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsaṅghikas from Theravāda. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in the year 247 B. C. under King Dharmāsoka which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The Northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the Kings, Kālāsoka and Dharmāsoka, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council. "1

The succession of teachers from Upāli to Mahinda as provided by the Chronicles is also interesting from the view point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upāli, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa and Mahinda, may not represent the whole truth, they even might not all be Vinaya-pāṃokkhā, i. e., authorities on Vinaya; but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, presenting as it does, 'a continuous synchrological connexion between the history of Ceylon and India.' The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The Chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to be so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religious monastic establishments, e. g., stūpas, vihāras, cetiyas, etc. of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhaya-

1 Mahāvamsa. (Geiger's Tr.) pp. LIX - LX and ff.

giri vihāra, the Thūpārāma, Mahāmeghavanārāma, and of the best of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the Chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely Rājagaha, Kosambī, Vesālī, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Pallava, Alasanda (Alexandria) and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese Kings and people turned for inspiration whenever any question of bringing and enshrining a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The Mahāvamsa informs us that King Mahāsena built the Manihiravihāra and founded three other vihāras, destroying temples of the (Brahmanical) gods. It shows that Brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As for the internal political history and foreign political relations with India, especially with the Damilas, the Chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the information contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

The Cūlavamsa¹ is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It

1 Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P. T. S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. Rickmers, 1919 and 1930. The translation with copious notes and a learned introduction is very useful.

Cūlavamsa is a series of additions to, and continuations of the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Mahāvamsa* is the work of one man - Mahānāma, who compiled the work during the reign of Dhātusena in the 6th A. D. But the single parts of the *Cūlavamsa* are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Dhammakitti. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu II in the 13th century A. D.

Between chapters 37 and 79 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the *Cūlavamsa* (Pages 443 out of 532 pages of Geiger's edition of the *Cūlavamsa*) were composed by Dhammakitti.

The second section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkamabāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkamabāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the *Cūlavamsa* consists of the Chapters from 80 to 90 both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the chapter 91 and ends with the chapter 100.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon to Mahāsena. Mahānāma simply followed here his chief source, the *Dipavamsa*, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The *Cūlavamsa*, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavanna, son of King Mahāsena and ends with Sirivikkamarājasīha.

The first section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Sirimeghavanna and ends with Parakkamabāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchēdas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkamabāhu I. Revd.

R. S. Copleston has called this portion of the Cūlavamsa the 'epic of Parakkama'. This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the Bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Colas and Damilas came to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapura. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became king of the united Laṅkā. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great vihāras and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpis and uyyānas.

The second portion of the Cūlavamsa begins with Vijayabāhu II and ends with Parakkamabāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanekabāhu III, and ends with Kittisirirājasīha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings, e. g., Sirirājādhirājasīha and Sirivikkamarājasīha.

There are in both the Chronicles, the Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa, interesting references to Pali texts affording very useful material for the history of Pali literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

List of Pali Texts in the Ceylonese Chronicles.

In the Dipavamsa references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Pitaka, the three Pitakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta and Vedalla but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Patissambhida, the Niddesa, the Pitaka of the Āgamas and the different sections namely, Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Samyuttas and Nipātas into which the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vibhaṅgas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyā-Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka, the Pātimokkha and the Atthakathā. We find further mention of the Kathāvatthu of the

Abhidhamma, the Petavatthu and the Saccasaṃyutta of the Vimānavatthu. Of Suttas and Suttantas separate mention is made of the Devadūta Sutta, Bālapandita Suttanta, Aggikkhaṇḍa Suttanta, Āsivisa Suttanta, Āsivisūpama Suttanta, Anamataggiya Sutta, Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta and the Mahāsamaya Suttanta.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE DĪPAVAṂSA

- Abhidhamma, 5, 37 ; 7, 56.
- Abbhuta, 4, 15.
- Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
- Anamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Atthakathā, 20, 20.
- Āgamas, 4, 12 ; 4, 16.
- Āsivisa Suttanta, 14, 18.
- Āsivisūpama Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Itivuttaka, 4, 15.
- Udāna, 4, 15.
- Kathāvatthu, 7, 41 ; 7, 56.
- Khandhaka, 7, 43.
- Geyya, 4, 15.
- Gāthā, 4, 15.
- Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Cariyā Piṭaka, 14, 45.
- Jātaka, 4, 15 ; 5, 37.
- Dhutaṅga, (precepts), 4, 3.
- Dhamma, 4, 4 ; 4, 6.
- Dhātuvāda precepts, 5, 7.
- Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Devadūta Sutta, 13, 7.
- Nipātas, 4, 16.
- Niddesa, 5, 37.
- Nikāyas, 7, 43.
- Pitakas, 4, 32 ; 5, 71 ; 7, 30 ; 20, 20.
- Parivāra, 5, 37 ; 7, 43.
- Paññāsakas, 4, 16.

Petavatthu, 12, 84.
 Pātimokkha, 13, 55.
 Patisambhidā, 5, 37.
 Vinaya, 4, 3 ; 4, 4 & 6 ; 7, 43.
 Veyyākaraṇa, 4, 15.
 Vedalla, 4, 15.
 Vaggas, 4, 16,
 Vimānavatthu, 12, 85.
 Bālapandita Suttanta, 13, 13.
 Vinaya Piṭaka. 18, 19 ; 18, 33 ; 18, 37.
 Vibhaṅgas, 7, 43.
 Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 14, 53.
 Sutta, 4, 15 ; 4, 16.
 Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāya) 18, 19 ; 18, 33.
 Saṃyuttas, 4, 16.

In the Mahāvamsa too we find numerous mentions of Pali texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle ; though mention of Suttas and Suttantas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Āṅguttara, the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three Piṭakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE MAHĀVAMSA

Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
 Asivisūpamā (Āṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 26.
 Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.
 Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Āṅguttara), 12, 34.
 Kapi Jātaka, 35, 31.
 Kālakārāma Suttanta, 12, 39.
 Khajjaniya Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.) 15, 195.
 Khandhakas (Sections of the Mahāvagga and
 Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 68.

Gomayapindisutta (Samyutta N.), 15, 197.

Cūlahatthipadūpama Suttanta, (Majjhima N.), 14, 22.

Cittayamaka (Ref. Yamakappakarāṇa of the Abhidhamma),
5, 146.

Jātaka (tales), 27, 34 ; 30, 88.

Tipiṭaka, 4, 62 ; 5, 84 ; 5, 112 ; 5, 118 & 119 ; 5, 210 ; 27, 44.

Tittira Jātaka, 5, 264.

Devadūta Suttanta (Majjhima N.), 12, 29.

Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta (Mahāvagga of the V. P.),
12, 41 ; 15, 199.

Bālapandita Suttanta (Samyutta N.), 15, 4.

Brahmajāla Suttanta, 12, 51.

Vessantara Jātaka, 30, 88.

Vinaya, 5, 151,

Mahā-Nārada-Kassapa Jātaka, 12, 37.

Mahāppamāda Suttanta (Samyutta N.), 16, 3.

Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 32, 43.

Mahāmaṅgala Sutta (Sutta N.), 30, 83.

Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 30, 83.

Samacitta Sutta (Samacittavagga in the Duka Nipāta of the
Anguttara Nikāya), 14, 39,

Sutta Pitaka, 5, 150.

The Buddhaghosuppatti deals with the life and career of
Buddhaghosa, the famous commentator, less
authentic than the account contained in the
Cūlavamsa. It gives us an account of Bud-
dhagosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's
conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permis-
sion to translate scriptures, his objects attained, return to India
and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language.
It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value
of this work readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work
of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The Buddhaghosuppatti
has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac &
Co., London. Grey has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the *Milindapañha*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosuppatti* are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the *Milindapañha* and the *Mahāvamsa* and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable man by the time when his work was written. Those legends are mostly valuable from the strict historical point of view. Grey truly says in his introduction to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the *Buddhaghosuppatti* about the birth, early life, conversion etc., of Buddhaghosa bear a great similarity to those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview which took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus, "I went before you to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live and shall not therefore be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily."

In Buddhadatta's *Vinayavinicchaya* we read that Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta summarised the commentary on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the commentary on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The above statement in the *Vinayavinicchaya* which is more authoritative than the *Buddhaghosuppatti* is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the 6th chapter of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* in which it is stated that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into Māgadhi. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. Buddhaghosa translated Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhi and not the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. On the other hand they would

have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been distinctly stated in the Mahāvamsa that the texts only existed in the Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Māghadhī. If the tradition recorded in the Mahāvamsa is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of Mahinda's works.

The Saddhammasaṅgaha is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dhammakīṭṭhābhīdhanāthera. It has been edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda for the P. T. S. London. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Yasa's stay in the Kūtāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. It is mentioned in this book that Moggalliputta Tissa recited the Kathāvatthu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva Thera to Mahisamandala, Rakkhita Thera to Vanavāsī, Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Mahārattha, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yonaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sonaka and Uttara to the Suvannabhūmi and Mahinda Thera to Laṅkā with four other Theras, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla. Besides there is a reference to the Buddha preaching his dhamma to the inhabitants of the city of Campaka (Campakanagaravāsīnam),

The Sandesa Kathā has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S. 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e. g., Mahinda, Mahāvijaya, Kittisirirājasīha, etc.

The Mahābodhivamsa has been edited by Mr. Strong for the P. T. S. London. The Sinhalese edition by Mahābodhivamsa Upatissa and revised by Sarandada, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this

work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the Mahābodhivamsa is the 10th century A. D. (Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, p. 79).

The Thūpavamsa contains an account of the thūpas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe (J. R. A. S. 1898). This work has not yet been edited by the P. T. S. London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (Ed. by Dhammaratana, Paeliyagoda, 1896).

The Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa or the history of the temple of Attanagalla consists of eleven chapters written in simple Pali. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Siri-Saṅghabodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like a historical novel. J. D'Alwis's English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has undertaken an edition and English translation of this work in the Indian Historical Quarterly. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo 1909 under the title, "Attanagalu-vihāra-vamsa".

The Dāthāvamsa or the Dantadhātuvamsa means an account of the tooth relic of the Buddha Gautama. Dāthāvamsa Vamsa means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literary it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The Dāthāvamsa is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The work was written by Mahāthera Dhammakitti of the city of Pulatti. He was a disciple of Sāriputta, the author of the Sāratthadīpanī tīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā tīkā, Ratanapañcika tīkā on the Candravvyākaraṇa and the Vinayasamgraha. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhibhāṣā, Tarkasāstra (logic), Vyākaraṇa (grammar)

Kāvya (poetry), Āgama (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two Vamsas of the Pali Buddhist literature, the Sāsanavamsa and the Gandhāvamsa, tell us that it was he who composed the Dāthāvamsa (P. T. S. Ed. p. 34 and J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 62). We know from the Dāthāvamsa that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into Māgadhibhāṣā by Dhammakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakkambo, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Līlāvati on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Līlāvati, later on, became the queen of Parākramavāhu, the king of Ceylon (verses 4-10).

The Dāthāvamsa was written in the Buddha era 845 during the reign of King Kittisirimeghavanna of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as Daladāvamsa composed about 310 A. D. It was translated into Pali in A. D. 1200 under the name of the Dāthāvamsa (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 89).

The Dāthāvamsa is an important contribution to the history of Pali Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with tooth-relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the Mahāvamsa and the Dīpavamsa. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

The Dāthāvamsa is a specimen of fine poetry. It contains Pali and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is rich. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of compendiums and contains repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions. (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 9). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in Jagatī chanda. Sixty stanzas are written in Vamsastha vṛtta and the last two in Srag-dharāvṛtta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written in Anustupachanda in Pathyavaktra vṛtta and in Mandākranta vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in tristhupa chanda in Upajāta, Indravajra, Upendravajra and Sikharanī vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in Atisakvarichanda, in Mālinī, Śāḍ-

dulavikridita vṛttas; and in the last chapter, s'tanzas are written in Sakvarichanda in Vasantatiloka and Sragdharā vṛttas.

The Dāthāvamsa gives an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha which is said to have been brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, Prince of Kalinga from Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha Dipamkara was coming to the city of Rammavati at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named Sumedha showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. Sumedha prayed to the Buddha Dipamkara that he might be a Buddha himself in future. Dipamkara granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten pāramitās (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth. At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in Kapilavastu in the family of Suddhodana and in the womb of Mahāmāyā. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named Siddhattakumāra. Three palaces suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river Anomā and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. Indra got the hair and built a caitya over it which is still known as Ūlamani Caitya. A potter brought a yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc. for him. He put on the yellow robe and left the Rājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, he went to the foot of the Bodhi-tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Māra's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of Bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another

week, looking at the Bodhi tree, with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ratanaghara near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon paticcasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalinda-nāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana. Thence he started for Isipatana-migadāva to preach his first sermon known as Dhammacakkapavattana but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him madhupipīka (a kind of food prepared with honey and molasses). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached Isipatana on the full-moon day of the month of Āsāḍha. He preached the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the first band of five disciples headed by Aññakondañña.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of Bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Lankā to fulfil his mission and descended on the garden named Mahānāgavana. Then he went to the meeting of the Yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness and heavy rains. The Yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his miraculous power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat radiating from the seat, the Yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island Lankā and the Yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridīpa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Lankā by the Buddha and the Yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went to the Giridīpa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Lankā was rid of the Yakkhas. As soon as the Yakkhas left the island of Lankā, he stopped his miracle and many gods came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the Devas dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a Caitya over it on the top of the Sumanakūṭa Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Lankā five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between

Cūlodara and Mahodara for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Lankā eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a Nāga named Maṇiakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Maṇiakkhika in Kalyāṇī. A caitya built over the seat offered by Maṇiakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the Nāgas there. This caitya was named Kalyāṇī Caitya. The Buddha then visited the Sumanakūṭa Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Dīghavāpī where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the site of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura where also he sat in meditation for sometime. Thence he visited the Thūpārāma and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbāna on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the garden named Upavattana of the Malla Kings near Kusinārā. In the first watch of the night of his parinibbāna, he preached dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch, he made Subhadda an arahat and in the last watch he instructed the Bhikkhus to be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e. g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became adorned with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height and the Mall chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collar bones and teeth. Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta, went to Mahiāṅgana in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a caitya. An arahat named Khema took a left tooth relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone relics, kings of the eight countries began to quarrel. Dona

settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relic, took them to their respective kingdoms, built caityas over them and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Khema was given to Brahmadata, king of Kalinga who built a caitya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadata's son, Kāsīrāja, succeeded his father and worshipped, like his dead father, the caitya built over the tooth relic of the Buddha. Kāsīrāja's son, Sunanda, succeeded him and did the same. Sunanda's son Guhasīva, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Guhasīva's minister who was a false believer, asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Guhasīva ordered all the Niganthas to be driven out of the kingdom. The Niganthas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to Pandu that King Guhasīva being a king subordinate to him (Pandu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Śiva and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasīva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Pandu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a fourfold army to arrest and bring Guhasīva with the tooth relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasīva of his mission and Guhasīva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth relic of the Buddha and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Cittayāna then informed Guhasīva of the order of King Pandu. Guhasīva with the tooth relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The Niganthas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasīva and they also

requested him to set fire to the tooth relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the tooth relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false beliefs but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The Niganthas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the Nighanthas were asked to take it out and throw it away but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapindika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth relic much and then the tooth relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapindika. The Niganthas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapindika's great grandson the tooth relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The Niganthas denied the influence of the relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapindika's great grandson. The tooth relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāna. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhasīva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A King named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establishing peace in his kingdom, sent back Guhasīva with Buddha's tooth relic to Kālīṅga. Dantakumāra, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kālīṅga to worship the tooth relic. Guhasīva cordially wel-

came to him and became pleased to hear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra his son and nephews came to Malayavana, a town near Dantapura, to take away the tooth relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Guhasīva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsena, a friend of Guhasīva, was the king of Ceylon. The son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmralipti. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, son of Mahādisena. Dantakumāra met an Arahāt and informed him of the tooth relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The Arahāt after hearing this went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādisena, the preceding king of Ceylon was a friend of Guhasīva, king of Kalinga who did not know that Mahādisena had died and his son Kittisirimegha was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādisena was no more and his son Kittisirimegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after learning from the Arahāt that the tooth relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon went barefooted to Meghagirivihāra, residence of the Arahāt, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the Bhikkhus well-versed in the Tripitakas and the Arahats came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Sinhalese monks and householders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth

relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth relic would select its own abode. The tooth relic placed on a fully decorated elephant was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The King of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lacs. After the death of Kittisirimegha, his successors such as Buddhadaśa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.¹

The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vamsa has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in the Journal of the P. T. S. 1885. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. It contains an account of hair relics of the Buddha.

The Gandhavamsa has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S., 1886. His edition is based on Burmese Gandhavamsa manuscripts. It is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pali books. It is written mostly in prose. Besides the books of the canon, there is contained in it a sketch of the history of more modern Pali works far more detailed than that in the Sāsanavamsa. A list of authors and their works as stated in the Gandhavamsa is given below :

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- 1 The Dāṭhāvamsa has been edited in Devanāgarī character and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law and published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Besides, there are two Sinhalese editions (by Terunnanse and Silālaṅkāra), and a P. T. S (London) edition published in 1884 in J. P. T. S. There is another English translation of this work by Mutu Coomaraswami published by Messrs, Trübner & Co., London in 1874. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1884 under the " Le Dāṭhāvamāa, ou, Histoire de la dent relique du Buddha Gotama ; poème épique Pali de Dhammakitti. " There is a commentary on the Dāṭhāvamsa known as the Dāṭhādhātuvamsaṭṭikā mentioned in an inscription of the 15th century A. D. Vide also G. Turnour — Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon (J. A. S. B. vi).

Mahākaccāyana :— Kaccāyanagandho, Mahāniruttigandho, Cullaniruttigandho, Nettigandho, Petakopadesagandho, Vanna-
nītigandho.

Buddhaghosa :— Visuddhimaggo, Sumangalavilāsini, Papañca-
sūdani, Sāratthapakāsini, Manorathapūraṇi, Samantapāsādikā,
Paramatthakathā, Kankhāvitarani, Dhammapadatthakathā, Jāta-
katthakathā, Khuddakapāthattthakathā, Apadānatthakathā.

Buddhadatta :— Vinayavinicchayo, Uttaravinicchayo, Abhi-
dhammāvatāro, Madhuratthavilāsini.

Ānanda :— Mūlatikam,

Dhammapāla :— Nettipakaranatthakathā, Itivuttaka-attha-
kathā, Udānatthakathā, Cariyāpitaka-atthakathā, Theragāthāttha-
kathā, Vimānavatthussa Vimalavilāsiniṇāma atthakathā, Peta-
vatthussa Vimalavilāsini nāma atthakathā, Paramatthamañjūsā,
Dīghanikāyatthakathādīnam Catunnam atthakathānam Līnattha-
pakāsini nāma tikā, Jātakatthakathāya Līnatthapakāsini nāma
tikā, Paramatthadīpani, Līnatthavannanā.

Mahāvajirabuddhi :— Vinayagaṇḍhi.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mukhamattadīpani.

Cullavajiro :— Atthabyakkhyānam,

Dipamkaro :— Rūpasiddhipakaraṇaṃ, Rūpasiddhiṭikam Sum-
mapaṇcasuttam.

Culladhammapālo :— Saccasamkhepaṇi.

Kassapo :— Mohavicchedani, Vimaticchedani, Buddhavaṃso,
Anāgatavaṃsa.

Mahānāma :— Saddhammapakāsani, Mahāvaṃsa, Cullavaṃsa.

Upasena :— Saddhammatthitikaṃ.

Moggallāna :— Moggallānabyākaraṇaṃ.

Samgharakkhita :— Subodhālamkāraṃ.

Vuttodayakāra :— Vuttodaya, Saṃbandhacintā, Navaṭṭikaṃ.

Dhammasirī :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Paramatthavinicchayam, Nāmarūpaparicchadam, Abhidhammatthasangahapakaranam.

Khema :— Khemam.

Sāriputta :— Sāratthadīpanī, Vinayasangahapakaranam, Sāratthamañjūsam, Pañcakam.

Buddhanāga :— Vinayatthamañjusam.

Navo Moggallāna :— Abhidhānappadīpikam.

Vācissaro :— Sambandhacintātikā, Moggallānabyākaranassatikā, Nāmarūpaparicchadatīkā, Padarūpavibhāvanam, Khemapakaranassatikā, Mūlasikkhāyatīkā, Vuttodayavivaranam Sumaṅgalopasādanī, Bālāvatāro, Yogavinicchayo, Sīmālankāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga, Paccayasamgaho.

Sumaṅgala :— Abhidhammatthavikāsanī, Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī.

Dhammakitti :— Dantadhātupakaranam.

Medhamkaro :— Jinacaritam.

Saddhamasiri :— Saddatthabhedacintā.

Devo :— Sumanakūtavannanā.

Cullabuddhaghoso :— Jātattagīnidānam, Sotattagīnidānam.

Ratthapāla :— Madhurasavāhinī.

Aggavamsa :— Saddanītipakaranam.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mahātikam.

Uttama :— Bālāvatāratīkam, Lingatthavivaranatīkam.

Kyacvāraṇṇo :— Saddabindu, Paramatthabindupakaranam.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttiapakāsanam.

Aggapaṇḍita :— Lokuppattī.

Saddhammajotipāla :— Simālaṃkārasaṭṭikā, Mātikatthadīpaṇi,
Vinayasamutthānadīpaṇi, Gandhasāro,
Paṭṭhānagaṇaṇānayo, Saṃkhepavaṇ-
naṇā, Suttaniddeso, Pātimokkhaṇi-
dhanī.

Nava Vimalabuddhi :— Abhidhammapannarasatthānam.

Vepullabuddhi :— Saddasāratthajāliniyātikā, Vuttodayaṭṭikā,
Paramatthamañjūsā, Dasagandhivaṇṇanā,
Magadhabhūtāvidaggam, Vidadhimukkha-
maṇḍanaṭṭikā.

Ariyavamsa :— Manisāramañjusaṃ, Manidīpaṃ, Gandabhara-
nam, Mahānissaram, Jātakavisodhanam.

Civara :— Jaṅghadāsassa tikam.

Nava medhamkara :— Lokadīpakasāram.

Sāriputta :— Saddavuttipakāsakassatīkam.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttipakāsanam.

Dhammasenāpati :— Kārikam. Etimāsamidīpakam, and Mano-
hāram.

Nānasāgara :— Liṅgathavivaraṇapakāsanam.

Abhaya :— Saddatthabhedacintāya mahāṭṭikam.

Gunasāgara :— Mukhamattasāram tat-tīkam.

Subhūtaṇḍana :— Liṅgathavivaraṇapakasānam.

Udumbarānāmācariya :— Peṭakopadesassa tikam.

Upatissācariya :— Anāgatavamsassa atthakathā.

Buddhapiya :— Sāratthasamgahanāmagandho.

Dhammānandācariya :— Kaccāyanasāro, Kaccāyanabhedam,
and Kaccāyanasārasaṭṭikā.

Gandhācariya :— Kurundīgandho.

Nāgītācariya :— Saddhasāratthajālīnī.

Works of unknown authors mentioned in the Gandhavamsa
are stated below :—

Mahāpaccariyaṃ, Pūrāṇatīkā, Mūlasikkhātīkā, Līnatthapakāsinī, Nisandeho, Dhammānusāraṇī, Ñeyyāsandati, Ñeyyāsandatiyā tīkā, Sumahavatāro, Lokopaññattipakaraṇaṃ, Tathāgata-pattipakaraṇaṃ, Nalātadhitavannanā, Sihavittā, Dhammapadāpako, Paṭipattisaṃgaho, Visuddhimaggagandhi, Abhidhammagandhi, Nettipakaraṇagandhi, Visuddhimaggacullatīkā, Sotappamālīnī, Pasādaṇī, Ottasālokaśūdaṇī, Subodhālankāraṇaṃ Navatīkā, Gūlhatthatikā, Bālappabodhanaṃ, Saddatthabhedacintāya majjimatīkā, Kārikāyatīkā, Etimāsamidīpikāyatīkā, Dīpavamsa, Thūpavamsa and Bodhivamsa.

The author of the Sāsana-vamsa gives an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Asoka. After the third Council was over, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paññāsāmī, the author of the Sāsana-vamsa, speaks of the nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mabel Bode is of opinion that the author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the countries of the South (and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the Southern doctrines), and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to the neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy besides three others, who visited Laos and Pegu.

The Thera Mahinda went to Ceylon for the propagation of the faith during the reign of the Sinhalese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi (Sudhamma, that is, Thaton at the mouth of Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the sending out of the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council, Buddha came here personally with a number of Bhikkhus to preach his doctrines.

Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in Yona country (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimmé).

Yonarakkhita Thera visited the country of Vanavāsī (the region round Prome) and propagated Buddhism there.

Majjhantika visited Kasmira and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) which lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Revata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Mahimsakamaṇḍala (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dhammarakkhita Thera went to Mahārāṭṭha (Mahā-nagara-rattha or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhima Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Cīnarattha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Aparantarāttha which (placed by European scholars west of the Punjab) is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i. e., the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The Sāsanavamsa brings before us a picture of the relations of State and Saṃgha in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, with his constant adviser, Arahanta, to the time of Meng-Dun-Meng, with his Council of Mahātheras. Those relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese Bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the Saṃgha to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check. "At the lowest, the royal gifts of vihāras and the buildings of cetiyas are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṃgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs. This is

evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṃgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the Saṃgha. But we also see the king himself under his ācariya's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṃgharāja.

The History of Religion in Mramma is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities -- Pugān, Sagain, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay -- each, in its turn, the seat of kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, King of Pegu. Anuruddha, King of Pagan, at the instance of Arahanta, a great Thera who came from Sudhammapura to Pugān, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pugān. All the members of the Saṃgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pugān. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisa the celebrated teacher Uttārājiya came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who spent ten years studying in Ceylon, returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers -- Sivali, Tamalinda and Ānanda. The schools are together known as Pacchāgaya to distinguish them from the earlier school in Arimaddana (Purimagana) founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals -- Paramatthabindu and Saddabindu, for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vibhatyattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit.

In the reign of Bureng Naung religion thrived most. It is recorded of him that he even forced Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri Mahāsīhasūrasudhammarāja begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism — the Pārupana — Ekamsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the Sāsana-vamsa. Two sects arose — the Ekamsika sect (it was so named for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment, and the Pārupana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders, during the village rounds). During the reign of Bodoah Prâ the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārupana practices for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Samgha in Ceylon. An ancient Simā in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Samgharāja at Mandalay, by deputations from both sides. The Samgharāja gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king.

Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The edition of the Sāsana-vamsa¹ is based on two palm-leaf Mss. in the British Museum. It is a non-canonical book and is text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññaswāmi who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Common Era 1861 A. D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pali works, e. g., Atthakathā, Vinaya Pitaka, Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa. Events are brought up to the time of the third Council in the

1 Read Sāsana-vamsadīpa edited by Jñānatilaka Nāyaka Punnāṇse and Sāsana-vamsādīpaya by Vimalasāra Unuāṇse Read also "The author of the Sāsana-vamsa" by M. Bode, J R, A, S., 1899.

time of Asoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahāmoggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which falls into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from Buddhaghosa and Dīpavamsa. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of the other matters of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the Sāsana-vamsa. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññaswāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mobel Bode, Ph. D. for the P. T. S. London.

THE DATE OF HARṢA - PULAKESIN WAR

BY

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It is well-known that the efforts of mighty Harṣa to reduce Pulakeśin II to submission did not come to fruition and that he had to return home discomfited from the Vindhya passes. But neither the foreign admirer of Harṣa, who admits the defeat of his imperial host, nor the courtly poet of Pulakeśin, who grows eloquent over this signal achievement of his patron, throws any light on the time of this war or the causes that led to it. We of course know that the war took place sometime before 634 A. D., the date of the Aihole inscription, but how many years prior to that date it was fought, is not yet definitely ascertained. As a consequence, we find divergent views held on this subject. The late Dr. Fleet had advanced the opinion that the war between Pulakeśin and Harṣa must have taken place before 612 A. D.¹ This view has been recently accepted by Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his book on Harṣa in the Rulers of India Series². Vincent Smith³, and following him, Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁴ are, on the other hand, disposed to hold that the contest has to be placed in c. 620 A. D. It will be shown in this paper on the strength of new epigraphical evidence that the war between the two aspirants for imperial power almost certainly took place sometime between 630 A. D. and 634 A. D.

The arguments in favour of the view that the battle took place before 612 A. D. are by no means very strong. It is no doubt true that later records of the successors of Pulakeśin II mention that

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

2 Pp. 31 ff.

3 *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

4 *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 13.

Pulakeśin won the title of Parameśvara as a result of the overthrow of Harsa, the Imperial Sovereign of Northern India, and that the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, dated 612 A. D.¹, assign him that title. It will be, however, not safe to conclude from this circumstance that Pulakeśin had defeated Harsa even earlier than 612 A. D. If such were the case, the glorious achievement being quite a recent one, the plates would have gone eloquent over its description. As it is, they do not even refer to the overthrow of Harsa. The title Parameśvara is no doubt given to Pulakeśin, but every student of ancient Indian copper-plates knows that their writers were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully when they were eulogising their patrons. That the title Parameśvara had no vital connection with the overthrow of Harsa, as later day copper-plate-composers claim, will be further evident from the fact that Ravikirti, the author of the Aihole *prasasti*, does not give it to his patron in his famous composition, although he therein describes the defeat of Harsa in picturesque language.

Nor does the testimony of Yuan Chwang prove that the two sovereigns had measured swords with each other before 612 A. D. The Chinese pilgrim no doubt remarks that after conquering the 'five Indias' within six years after his accession, Harsa 'reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.'² But as Walters has pointed out³, the word *ch'ui* here employed simply means 'to don the imperial robe', i. e. to reign justly and happily. That any literal interpretation of the expression, which would of course exclude the possibility of the offensive against Pulakeśin after 612 A. D., is out of question will be clear from the fact that Harsa was actually engaged in a war with the people of Ganjam at the time of his meeting with Yuan Chwang.

Fleet seems to be under the impression that all the exploits of Pulakeśin mentioned in the Aihole inscription in verses 17 to 24 were accomplished prior to his formal coronation in 610 A. D.,

1 I. A., VI, p. 73.

2 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 343.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

which is being described in v. 25. If such were the case, the defect of Harsa will have to be placed prior to 610 A. D. The verse 25, however, does not at all refer to the coronation of Pulakesin II. After describing how Pulakesin foiled the efforts of his uncle to deprive him of his throne, how he broke up the confederacy of Govinda and Āppayika, defeated the rulers of Vana-vāsi and Konkana, overthrow Gangas, Alūpas and Mauryas and reduced Lāta, Mālava and Gurjara rulers, Ravikirti points out that as a consequence of these exploits, Pulakesin became the Lord Paramount of the three Mahārāstras. The verse describes Pulakesin's attainment of the imperial position in the south and has nothing to do with his accession in 610 A. D.¹

A survey of the political situation at the commencement of the careers of both the sovereigns will show that they could not have fought with each other prior to 612 A. D. Each had to spend his first few years in consolidating his position and overcoming local and hereditary foes, who were neither few nor insignificant. If we read between the lines of Yuan Chwang, we shall find that Harsa could have thought of challenging the position of Pulakesin only after 612 A. D. Says the Pilgrim "Proceeding eastwards, he (i. e. Harsa) invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the five Indias". The exact meaning of the expression 'Five Indias' is unfortunately uncertain, but the expression '*proceeding eastwards*' makes it quite clear, that these six years were spent by Harsa in fighting with his opponents exclusively in Eastern India. The pilgrim goes on to observe, "then having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing his elephant corps upto 60,000, and the cavalry to 1,00,000." It must have been only after his resources were thus increased and army strengthened in 612 A. D. that Harsa could have thought of attacking his neighbours in the west or in the south

1 Cf. विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः स्रक्कल्प- ।

स्तिस्त्रिभिः गुणोद्यैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलद्यैः ॥

अगमदविपत्तिर्ब यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां ।

नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

Nor was Pulakeśin powerful enough to accept the challenge of Harsa before 612 A. D. The Hyderabad plates make it clear that he had ascended the throne in 610 A. D. Pious history, as manufactured by later chroniclers, no doubt asserts¹ that Mangaliśa voluntarily surrendered the crown to his nephew Pulakeśin II, when the latter came of age; 'for is it ever conceivable that a scion of Cālukya family would ever depart from the path of virtue?' Contemporary documents, however, tell a different tale, and we know that instead of handing over the kingdom to his nephew, Mangaliśa fought with him to the bitter end in order to secure the succession of his own son and perished in the effort.² The fratricidal war encouraged the feudatories to be rebellious, and Pulakeśin was threatened in the very heart of his kingdom by a confederacy of Govinda and Āppāyika, who advanced to fight with him on the banks of the Bhīmā. Pulakeśin could save the situation only by buying off one of his opponents in order to defeat the other.³ Then immediately to the south of his capital, he had to fight with the Gangas and Alūpas. Nor had he easy time in Konkana, where he had to reduce to subjection the Mauryas. It will be thus seen that the first few years of Pulakeśin must have been spent in reconquering the home-provinces of his hereditary kingdom. Within three years of his accession, he could, therefore, hardly have been in a position to defeat Harsa.

The cause of the war between Harsa and Pulakeśin seems to be the conflict of their imperial plans in Gujarat and Malva. Students of Ancient Indian History know full well how these provinces used to profess allegiance sometimes to a northern and sometimes to a southern power. Both Harsa and Pulakeśin, therefore, thought that these provinces ought to fall within their own spheres of influence. There is nothing to show that Ravikirti follows any chronological order in narrating the events in the Aihole inscription; the mention, however, of the acceptance of Pulakeśin's sovereignty by Lāta, Mālava and Gurjara rulers in v. 22, immediately before the description of the war with Harsa,

1 e. g. Yevoor tablets, *I. A.*, vol. VIII, p. 13.

2 Aihole Inscription, v. 15.

3 Ibid, v. 17.

may very probably show that the one was the cause of the other. It is well-known that several records of the Gurjars of Bharoach claim that Dadda II, a ruler of that line, had protected a king of Valabhi against Harsa.¹ It would appear very probable that before attacking Valabhi, Harsa must have compelled the ruler of Malva to recognise his suzerainty. This must have exasperated Pulakeśin, for that ruler was his own feudatory erstwhile. He seems to have planned retaliation by helping the Gurjara ruler Dadda II in affording protection to the Valabhi chief against Harsa. Nay, it is quite probable that the credit claimed for Dadda II may have really belonged to Pulakeśin, whose feudatory he probably was. Cases are by no means few in Ancient Indian historical documents where feudatories entirely ignore their suzerains and take the full credit of the latter's achievements to themselves. Thus the defeat of Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla is claimed entirely for Cālukya feudatory Nārasimha by his court poet Pampa, who completely ignores Indra III, his patron's feudal lord.² The Bharoach Gurjara kingdom was a petty principality, hardly equal to two or three modern districts: and it is very improbable, if not impossible, that Dadda II could have single-handedly afforded protection to the Valabhi ruler against the Lord Paramount of Northern India. It is almost certain that he was either supported by Pulakeśin's battalions, or that he was merely fighting in the latter's army. The latter hypothesis seems to be more probable, for the Aihole inscriptions claim in v. 22 that the Gurjara ruler was a feudatory of Pulakeśin.

It would appear that Harsa eventually succeeded in winning over the Valabhi ruler by offering him his own daughter in marriage. Such a move was essential, for it was very useful in consolidating Harsa's position in Central India by removing an enemy in the flank. The assumption sometimes made that Harsa may have marched against Valabhi after the efforts to defeat Pulakeśin proved of no avail is very improbable. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the north, right up to Kathiawar before launching an attack on trans-

1 e. g. Naosari plates I. A. XIII, p. 77.

2 *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣana*, Introduction, p. XIV.

Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawar before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. It would therefore seem almost certain that Harsa's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin.

If such were the case, the latter event must be placed sometime about 630 A. D. We have already seen how later Gurjara grants claim that Dadda II had afforded protection to the Valabhi king against Harsa. The known dates of Dadda II range from 629 to 640 A. D. It is not very probable that his accession took place much earlier than 629 A. D. We may therefore place the Gurjara-Cālukya alliance sometime about 628 or 629 A. D. This alliance did not last long, for Dhruvabhata the Valabhi king, was won over by Harsa. Strengthened and encouraged by this defection, Harsa must have planned his offensive against Pulakeśin sometime between 630 and 634 A. D.

634 A. D., the upper limit for the war is determined by the Aihole inscription. That the lower limit cannot go back beyond 630 A. D., as shown above by a discussion of the general political situation, is further rendered almost certain by the recently published Lohanera copper-plates of Pulakeśin II.¹ The wording of the date of this document is unfortunately slightly corrupt, it reads as '*dvipaṇcāśadadhike śakābdapaṇcake*'. If we take the expression literally, it would mean 'in the Śaka year 52'. But in Śaka 52, neither Pulakeśin nor the Cālukyas were in existence. It is quite obvious that the expression *śakābdapaṇcake* is a mistake for *śatābdapaṇcake*. The date of this record of Pulakeśin II is therefore 552 in Śaka Era i. e. 630 A. D., a year falling within the known reign of that ruler.

The Lohanera plates of Pulakeśin II issued in 630 A. D. describe his valour and exploits, but are altogether silent about the defeat of Harsa. They describe Pulakeśin as *Vijayī sūhasaikaratiḥ, anekacaturdantasāṅgrāmajanitaprāna ... tayā ... svabhujabalalabdha-vikramākhyah, ... pūrvāparāmbunāthah, ... prasabhābhīmṛṣṭānyarāja-*

śrih, but are quite silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor ; and if the most significant achievement of the latter known to us did not occur to him, the almost certain reason seems to be that it was not yet an accomplished fact. We have seen already how the known facts of the Gurjara-Maitraka history support the view that the offensive against Pulakeśin could not have been launched before c. 630 A. D. The negative evidence of the Lohaṇera plates supports the same conclusion. It would be thus seen that we can locate the war between Harsa and Pulakeśin within the narrow limit of four years, 630-634 A. D.

THE AGE OF JANAKA AND OTHERS

BY

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA, M. A.

Two remarkable books were sometime ago published on Ancient Indian History by the Calcutta University. These deserve the special study and attention of all oriental scholars. The first of these is Dr. S. N. Pradhan's "Chronology of Ancient India" which deals with the political history of ancient India from the time of the Rgvedic King Divodāsa down to the extinction of the Nandas, while the second, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury's "Political History of Ancient India" deals with the period from the birth of Parikṣit to the extinction of the imperial Guptas. Thus the period ranging from the time of Parikṣit to the end of the Nandas has been dealt with by both Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

It is interesting to note that the results obtained by them diverge widely. Dr. Pradhan has worked on the well-known principle laid down in the Vāyu Purāṇa (I, 200-1) and the Mahābhārata (I. 2, 382; I, 1, 267-8) that the knowledge of the Veda should be reinforced with the knowledge of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, for 'Veda is afraid that the man ignorant of the Purāṇa and Itihāsa will do violence to Him' (i. e. Veda). There is some truth in this principle, for Vedic India can never be properly understood, unless one knows the Purāṇa (= ancient history) of India. Working on this principle Dr. Pradhan has checked and corrected Purāṇic genealogies and traditions with the information and evidence derived from Vedic literature in general, as well as from genuine Purāṇic synchronisms, and found that in the Purāṇas 'sometimes one dynasty is merged or interwoven into or tacked on to another dynasty, owing to the corrupt readings that have crept in', and this has resulted in 'a preposterously long line of kings' (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Preface, p. xi). Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession reversed, synchronisms misplaced, dynasties lengthened owing to corrupt

readings (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For this reason Dr. Pradhan has thought it necessary to accept all Purāṇic accounts with caution, to compare and check them amongst themselves and 'to correct them in the light of Vedic, Buddhistic, Jain and other external evidences' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For according to him evidence derived from the Veda is very strong and generally carries more authority than the Purāṇas, for 'many of them are either directly contemporary records or are traditions founded on contemporary records' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). Dr. Roy Choudhury's point of view, though somewhat similar, leans more towards Buddhistic literature, and looks on the Purāṇas with greater suspicion. It may be noted in this connection that Pargiter's view has been to place 'little trust in the Vedic literature regarding matters containing Brahmanical pretensions' (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 10), and to ascribe to the Veda 'a Brahmanical lack of historical sense' (*A. I. H. T.*, pp. 63-75), and generally to place 'implicit trust in the Purāṇas' and 'little trust in the Vedas'. We mean to compare here a few of the results obtained by Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Janakas from Śiradhvaja Janaka to Kṛti Janaka, as described in the Purāṇas (i. e. the Vāyu and Viṣṇu etc.) were the later Videhas of Mithilā, and began to rule the kingdom of Videha 6 generations or 180 years after the time of Janamejaya Pāriksita. He admits that he has failed to bring any of the Janakas into synchronistic connection with the members of other royal dynasties and identify any of the Purāṇic Janakas, with the Janakas mentioned in the Buddhistic Jātakas (*Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 31). He thinks that the great Janaka of the Vedic texts was Śiradhvaja Janaka, father of Sitā, of the Purāṇic list, because Aśvapati, king of the Kekayas, is represented in the Rāmāyana as the maternal grandfather of Bharata, and because Janaka of the Vedic texts, was contemporary with the Kekaya king named Aśvapati (*Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., p. 21). This is the view held by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the 1st edition of his book. In the 2nd edition of it, we find he has almost withdrawn his opinion, as we find him adding "as the name Aśvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle (Rāmāyana VII, 113, 4), it

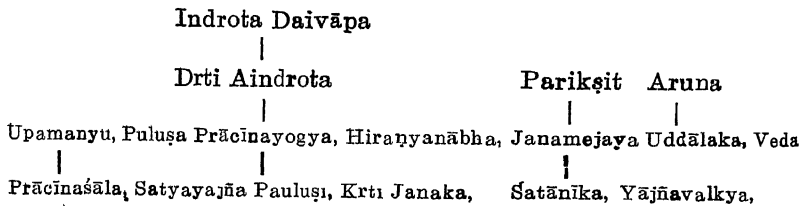
was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka'. In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct" (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 31). Although 'the precise determination of the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka is', according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, 'impossible' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26), yet Dr Roy Choudhury thinks, the fact that 'the great Janaka was later than the Pāriksitas' (i. e. Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena) 'admits of no doubt' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 25). Although the epic tradition that Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mahābhārata*, Beng. recension, I, 53, 7 ; IV, 21, 2) and the Purāṇic tradition (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV, 21, 2) that Janamejaya's son and successor Śatānika learnt the Vedas from Yājñavalkya, go towards proving the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka, they are held by Dr. Roy Choudhury as unreliable (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) because he thinks that they are incompatible with the evidence derived from Vedic literature (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26). The first line of Vedic evidence is, according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, derived from the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (III, 3. 1), where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya with the question "whither have the Pāriksitas gone?", the true answer to which had already been obtained by Bhujyu from a Gandharva who had possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya in the Madra country before. Yājñavalkya answered "Thither where Aśvamedha sacrificers go". Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes from this that 'the Pāriksitas (sons of Parikṣit)' i. e. Janamejaya and his brothers 'must at that time have passed away, though their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 25-6).

A second line of evidence adduced by Dr. Roy Choudhury in support of his contention is as follows (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) :—

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* XIII, 5, 4, 1). Indrota's pupil was his son Drti Aindrota (*Jaim. Up. Brā.* III, 40, 2 ; *Vamśa Brā.* 2). Drti's pupil was Pulusa Prācīnayogya (*Jaim. Up. Brā.* III, 40, 2).

Pulusa's pupil was Satyayajña Paulusi (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2). Satyayajña Paulusi was a contemporary of Buḍila Āsvata-rāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*Chāndogya Up.* V, 11, 1-2) two prominent figures of Janaka's court (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V, 14, 8; III, 7, 1). Satyayajña Paulusi therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśusma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya met Janaka (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 6, 2, 1-3). As Satyayajña flourished long after Indrota Daivāpa, his contemporary Janaka was considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota (*P. H. A. I.* 2nd ed., p. 26).

Turning to the view of Dr. Pradhan we find that the same evidence from Vedic literature and consequently the same line of argument has been used by him to show that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and therefore was an older contemporary of Janaka and Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 134). The small synchronistic tables furnished by him (*C. A. I.*, p. 160 ; p. 134), illustrate the chronological relation amongst the persons mentioned :—



Thus it will be found that the Vedic evidence used by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the hope of proving 'clearly' that 'Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 27) or by about '180 years' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-8) and thus to reject the Purānic and epic synchronisms considering them as 'unreliable' is exactly the very evidence which has already been employed by Dr. Pradhan to show that they furnish corroboration of the epic and Purānic synchronisms.

The third argument advanced by Dr. Roy Choudhury to prove that Janaka was six generations below Janamejaya is based upon the lists of teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadā-

anyaka Upanisad (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 17 ; 2nd ed., p. 27). He says that because Tura Kāvaseya, the priest of Janamejaya, stands at the 10th step above Sāñjiviputra, and because Yājñavalkya, the friend of Janaka, stands at the 4th step above the same Sāñjiviputra, as in the list below :—

Tura Kāvaseya	Janamejaya
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri	
Śaṇḍilya	
Vātsya	
Vāmakāksāyana	
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya, Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyana
Māṇḍukāyani	Prāśniputra
Sāñjiviputra	Sāñjiviputra

therefore Janamejaya stands at the 6th step above Janaka.

Dr. Pradhan we find (*C. A. I.* p. 159) has used a slightly different list from the same book Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X, 6, 5, 9 ; XIV, 3, 2, 32), but arriving at the same conclusion, namely that Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step above Yājñavalkya in the following series of Vedic teachers :—

Tura Kāvaseya	
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri Vājaśravasa	
Upaveśi	
Aruṇa Aupaveśi	Parikṣita
Uddālaka Āruṇi	Janamejaya
Yājñavalkya. . Janaka	Śatānika

Thus although Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka, Dr. Pradhan

has placed Janamejaya only a step above Janaka (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 159) in conformity with the several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms which will be mentioned in this paper presently, and has made the justifiable hypothesis that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age to officiate as the priest of Janamejaya, just as Vyāsa Pārāśarya lived to a great age to attend Janamejaya's court (*C. A. I.*, p. 160) when the latter instituted his Nāgasatra (*Beng. MBh.* I, 53, 7 ; I, 60, 7). Besides in a succession of teachers, the average age-difference is generally much less than that in a lineal descendance, unless the pupils are sons of their preceptors. The preceptors were in some cases younger than their pupils, just as Śamkarācārya was much younger than his pupil Sureśvarācārya. The subject of contemporaneity will be best understood when it is borne in mind that a man may generally be contemporary with five successive generations. In my childhood I was a contemporary of the grand-father of a friend of mine ; I am now a contemporary of his old father and of him ; I am a contemporary of his son, who is now a youth and has just married ; If I am spared a few years more, I shall be a contemporary of my friend's grand-child. If a man lives exceptionally long, he may be a contemporary of no less than six successive generations of men, younger or older. There is no reason to be surprised at the information that Tura Kāvaseya officiated as the priest of Janamejaya, although the latter was contemporary with Uddālaka Āruni who was the fifth in the series of teachers from Tura Kāvaseya. All doubts about this will be dispelled when one remembers the case of the Turkish bi-centenarian Zaro Aga who was 9 years old in 1784 at the time of the treaty of the American War of Independence.

It is interesting to note how Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury have differed as regards the time about which the famous king Hiranyanābha Kausalya flourished.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed. p. 51 and p. 81 ; 2nd ed. p. 65 and p. 99). He has arrived at this result by the following steps :—

(1) 'Uddālaka' Āruṇi 'was separated by 6 generations from Janamejaya'.

(2) Gunākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was separated by 2 generations from Uddālaka, (as in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka).

(3) 'Therefore Gunākhyā Śāṅkhāyana flourished 7 or 8 generations from' (i. e. below) 'Janamejaya'.

(4) Kausalya Āśvalāyana, Kabandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda and Prince Hiranyanābha Kausalya were contemporaries as given in the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1). Āśvalāyana here was an inhabitant of Kosala.

(5) The author of the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra was contemporary with the author of the Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, 'as they mention each other in their respective works'.

(6) Āssalāyana of Sāvatti is 'mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, 147 et seq) as a famous Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and Kukuda or Pakudha Kaccāyana'.

'These facts' have enabled Dr. Roy Choudhury 'to identify Kausalya Āśvalāyana' of the Praśna Upaniṣad 'with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti' of 'the Majjhima Nikāya', and to conclude that he 'must have lived in the 6th century B. C.' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and secondly to conclude that Gunākhyā Śāṅkhāyana 'too must have lived in the 6th century B. C.', if Gunākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and thirdly to conclude that the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Gautama Buddha, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha.

On analysing the steps adopted here by Dr. Roy Choudhury it will be found that the 1st step is wrong, as we have already seen that his Vedic evidences rather tend to prove the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

Combining the 4th and 6th steps together, Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes that Kausalya Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti of the Majjhima Nikāya. Because Āśvalāyana was an inhabitant of Kosala, therefore he

was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti — this seems to be the reasoning adopted by Dr. Roy Choudhury. It is an assumption pure and simple. It is no proof.

In the 1st edition of his work (p. 10) Dr. Roy Choudhury stated "It is however possible that Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the Grhya Sūtrakāra and referred us to *S. B. E.* XXIX, pp. 4-5. In the second edition (pp. 16-17), he states "If Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was the same as the Grhya Sūtrakāra, he too must have lived in the 6th century B. C." It appears that he entertains less doubt about Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana having been the Grhya Sūtrakāra, for he accepts the contemporaneity of Guṇākya, Āsvalāyana and Gautama Buddha, and places Janaka in the 7th century B. C. (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-28). But we have got to say a few words about Guṇākya.

From the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 3, 7 ; 5, 3) we learn that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruni. Kahoda being the pupil of the same Uddālaka, was contemporary with Yājñavalkya. Guṇākya who was the pupil of Kahoda, therefore ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya. Now Yājñavalkya was the author of many Yajuses in, and the compiler of the White Yajurveda. Guṇākya who ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the very beginning of the Yajurvedic Period. Hence he could not evidently have been the Grhya Sūtrakāra, for the Grhya Sūtras, as a class of literature, are of later date.

Another point need be noticed in this connection. The consequences of treating Guṇākya as contemporary with Āssalāyana Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha, and therefore with Prasenajit and Bimbisāra would be to bring down Kahoda, and Yājñavalkya — the author of the White Yajurveda to only a step above Gautama Buddha, that is to suppose that Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, etc. might have seen Yājñavalkya in their youth. This is absurd on the very face of it, for the White Yajurveda cannot belong to the time of Gautama Buddha. Guṇākya was far earlier than Gautama Buddha.

Again, consequent on Dr. Roy Choudhury's assumption of the identity of Āssalāyana of Sāvatti with Kausalya Āsvalāyana of

the *Praśna Upanisad*, Dr. Roy Choudhury has been compelled to make another wrong assumption, namely, of the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praśna Upanisad* with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17). In order to prove the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana, he says that the word 'Kavandhin' means the same thing as the word 'Kakuda' giving us the equation 'Kavandhin = Kakuda' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 17 foot-note) and has asked us to refer to the *Atharvaveda* IX, 4, 3. We consult the *Atharvaveda* and find that W. D. Whitney has translated the word 'Kavandha' by 'trunk'. (*Translation of Atharvaveda*, p. 529). We consult the *Vācaspatya Abhidhāna*, Monier-William's Dictionary, Sanskrit Worterbuch, R. C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pali Language etc., and nowhere do we find any way of helping Dr. Roy Choudhury to obtain the equation "Kavandha = Kakuda". We give here all the meanings of these two words :--

- " Kav(b)andha " = (1) A barrel, cask, trunk, belly
 (2) A large-bellied vessel
 (3) A comet
 (4) Name of Rāhu
 (5) Name of the Rākṣasa Danu, son of Śrī
 (6) Name of certain Ketus 96 in number
 (7) Clouds which obscure the Sun at sun-set and sun-rise.

- " Kakuda " = (1) Chief
 (2) Any projecting corner
 (3) The hump of the shoulder of the Indian bullock
 (4) Name of a metre
 (5) An ensign of royalty
 (6) Name of a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma.

Childers names 'the tree *Terminalia Arjuna*' as a synonym for Kakuda in addition to the 3rd and 5th in the above list.

- “Kav(b)andhin” means (1) a sage mentioned in the Praśna Upanisad
(2) laden with water.

Thus it will be realized that we have been misled with a wrong equation. But even admitting for the sake of argument that the word ‘Kavandha’ means the same as ‘Kakuda’, we cannot accept that Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the Praśna Upanisad was identical with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the Majjhima Nikāya, for it would then only mean that in the Kātyāyana gotra ❀ family one was named Kabandhin and another Pakudha. Other very strong evidences must be brought forward to prove the identity of two persons having different names of the same meaning. But the question does not arise at all, because the equation itself Kavandhin = Kakuda, cannot stand. The fact is that Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Bhāradvāja etc. were gotra or family titles in those days, just as Mukherjee, Banerjee, Pradhan and Roy Choudhury are family-titles now-a-days.

From the conversations described in the Praśna Upanisad (III, 1-12) between the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda and Kausalya Āśvalāyana, it is clear that the latter was eager to know about the nature of Life and its relation to the Self, while from the conversations between Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha it is clear that this Āssalāyana belonged to a degenerate age, puffed up with the vanity of caste, always anxious to preach the purity and superiority of Brahmans. How different is the mentality of Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upanisad.

Similarly, it is evident from the Majjhima Nikāya (I, p. 198 ; I, p 250 ; II, p. 2) that Pakudha Kaccāyana was a degenerate mediocrity or even worse in intellect, while the Praśna Upanisad (I, 3-15) informs us that Kavandhin Kātyāyana really belonged to the true Brahmanic type of the Vedic age, anxious to know about the Most Glorious, the Most Effulgent, the One Origin of this Universe, Manifested in this Universe. It is now easy to understand why Dr. Roy Choudhury has been led to assign Hiranya-nābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana were, according to the Praśna Upanisad, contemporary with the

King Hiranyanābha. Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana were, according to the Maṃhima Nikāya, contemporary with Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Now if Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana are identified with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana respectively, as they have been by Dr. Roy Choudhury, then the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be regarded by him as belonging to the time of Gautama Buddha.

We have already seen that Dr. Roy Choudhury's identifications represented by the equations :

Kausalya Āśvalāyana = Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Kavandhin Kātyāyana = Pakudha Kaccāyana, are wrong, so that one may infer that his assigning Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha and Prasenajit is erroneous. Moreover we shall have to imagine that the Kosala King Hiranyanābha and the Kosala King Prasenajit ruled simultaneously if we believe in the above identifications. Had they ruled or existed simultaneously in Kosala, the eloquent Buddhist literature would have mentioned that.

According to Dr. Pradhan, the assignment of Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha is absolutely untenable, for the King Para, son of Atnāra and grandson of Hiranyanābha, as he has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 135) is mentioned not only in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage in the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI, 9, 11-13), the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 11), the Pañcavimsā Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 16, 3), and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 4), but also in the Taittirīya Samhitā (V, 6, 5, 3) and the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā. No one should dare to bring the Taittirīya Samhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Tāndya Brāhmaṇa, Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa etc. down to times of Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru and Gautama Buddha.

Dr. Pradhan has collected various other pieces of evidence for accepting that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā :-

(1) The position of Yājñavalkya, and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, is absolutely fixed on the genealogical table because Śatānika, son of Janamejaya, read the three Vedas with Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

(2) The position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of his friend Janaka Vaideha, is unalterably fixed on the genealogical table, because Yājñavalkya was the nephew (=sister's son=Bhāgineya) and disciple of Vaiśampāyana who related the story of Mahābhārata at the court of Janamejaya Pāriksita (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

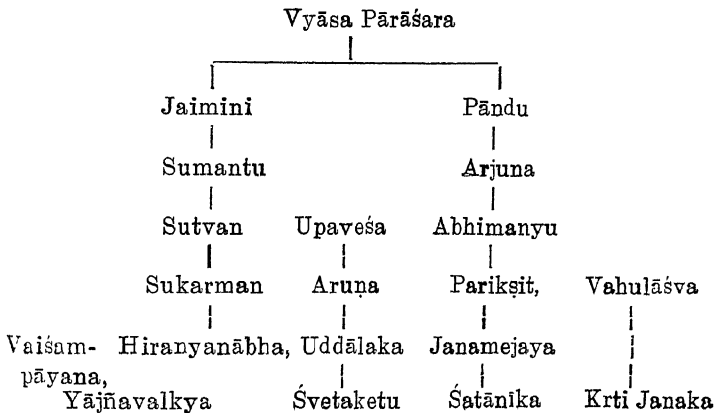
(3) This Vaiśampāyana's personal name was Caraka (Kāśikā on Pāṇini), so that his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana, so called because he was a descendant or son of Viśampa (*C. A. I.*, p. 124). As a result of a quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the latter, the friend of Janaka, gave up learning and teaching the Black Yajurveda, and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

This quarrel between the uncle and the nephew is attested not only by the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Visnu and Bhāgavata but also by the Mahābhārata (both the Bengal and Madras recensions) (*C. A. I.* p. 124) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (*M. Śat. Br.* III, 8, 2, 24), where it is mentioned that Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka Adhvaryu. This fact of the quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil and nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya fixes the position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, just a step below that of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was.

(4) Uddālaka Āruṇi who, according to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad attended the court of Janaka Vaideha, and joined that famous debate, had two other class-friends, namely, Upamanyu and Baidā (or Veda); and these three were the pupils of Apoda Dhaumya as is evident from the Bengal and Madras recensions of the Mahābhārata (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). Now of these three pupils, the third, i. e. Veda or Baidā was approached by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become his priest (*C. A. I.*, 132). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and consequently his pupil Yājñavalkya contemporary with Janamejaya.

(5) Uddālaka Āruṇi himself with his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mbh.* I, 53, 7). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janamejaya contemporaries.

(6) Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, as appears from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 5, 3), was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). He was the pupil also of Hiranyanābha Kausalya, a descendant of Rāma Dāśarathī. This King Hiranyanābha Kausalya was, according to the unanimous testimony of the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, was the pupil of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa Pārāśarya (*C. A. I.*, pp. 125-127). It is related in detail in all these works that Sumantu was the son and pupil of his father Jaimini — the pupil of Vyāsa Pārāśarya Sumanta's son and pupil was Sutvan; Sutvan's son and pupil was Sukarman; Sukarman got two very intelligent disciples, one,— the Brāhmaṇa Pausyañji, and the other, — the King Hiranyanābha Kausalya. Now Jaimini, having been the pupil of Vyāsa, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu; Jaimini's son Sumantu was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna; Sumantu's son Sutvan was contemporary with Arjuna's son Abhimanyu; Sutvan's son Sukarman was contemporary with Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit. Hence Sukarman's pupil Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be contemporary with Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. The relation is best expressed in the following table :—



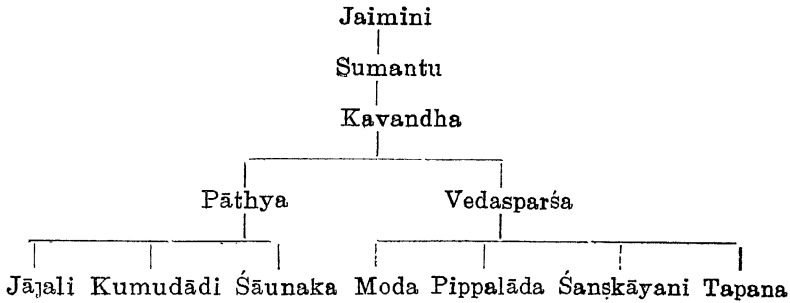
This establishes the contemporaneity between Janamejaya and Hiranyanābha Kausalya. According to all the authoritative Purāṇas, as Dr. Pradhan has shown, Yājñavalkya learnt the science of 'Yoga' from Hiranyanābha Kausalya (*C. A. I.* pp. 123-4). Dr. Pradhan has also shown that Hiranyanābha's pupil Kṛti was no other than Kṛti, the son of Vahulāśva of the Janaka dynasty (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-132). Kṛti Janaka and Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the same time and the same step on the genealogical table, as both of them were the pupils of Hiranyanābha. Yājñavalkya thus was the friend and contemporary, not of Śiradhvaja Janaka, the father of Sitā, as Dr. Roy Choudhury has supposed, but of Kṛti Janaka, a descendant of Śiradhvaja in the 18th degree. Thus will be realized what a tremendous confusion has been made by Dr. Roy Choudhury by supposing that the Videhas in the Purāṇas from Śiradhvaja Janaka downwards, were the later Videhas of Mithilā, who began to flourish six generations after Janamejaya Pāriksita, and by assuming necessarily that the events of the Rāmāyana were long posterior to those of the Mahābhārata. This absurd supposition, which goes against the entire body of Indian tradition, could not have been thought of even if there were no uncritical scholars in support of it in the days of the infancy of Oriental research in Europe.

The above table makes it absolutely clear that the Pāriksitas could be dead when Janaka Vaideha (= Kṛti Janaka) held his Vahudaksina Sacrifice in his advanced years and thus Bhuiyu Lāhyāyani could very well test Yājñavalkya with the question "Whither have the Pāriksitas gone ? ", after the passing away of the Pāriksitas.

(7) It seems that Dr. Roy Choudhury has not paid proper attention to the use of 'Lan' in the verb 'bhu' in the sentence "Kva Pāriksitā abhavan." More than two thousand and one hundred years ago, Patañjali illustrated the use of 'Lan' in the sentences "Arunad Yavanah Sāketam, arunad Yavano Mādhyamikān," as pointed out by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar. Patañjali, the speaker who illustrated the use of 'Lan' could have seen the Yavana King and his siege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikān, had he so liked and had he taken the trouble

of going to Sāketa etc.. Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu similarly might have seen the death of the Pāriksitas had they been present in Hastināpura at that time. It is clear from the use of 'Lan' that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the life-time of Yājñavalkya, Bhujyu etc. In fact the use of 'Lan' is another evidence for the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. The real fact is that Yājñavalkya was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya as we have already found.

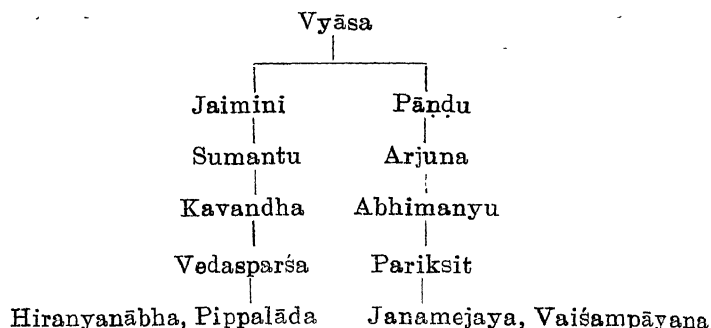
(8) From the Vāyu (61-49-52) Brahmandā (II, 65, 51-4) Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata we learn that Jaimini's son Sumantu to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of Atharvaveda, had two pupils, one of whom was Kavandha; Kavandha again taught the Atharvaveda to two of his pupils, namely Pāthya and Vedasparśa; Pāthya's three pupils were Jājali, Kumudādi and Śaunaka, while Vedasparśa had four pupils, namely Moda, Pippalāda, Śaṅskāyani and Tapana. The relations are best expressed in the following tree which has already been published in Dr. Pradhan's table genealogies of Vedic Kings and series of Vedic teachers, facing page 176 of 'Chronology of Ancient India.'



The reader can see it at a glance that here is Pippalāda who has been mentioned in the Prasna Upanisad.

Now Sumantu, son of Jaimini, was contemporary with Pāṇdu's son Arjuna, for Pāṇdu and Jaimini, as we have already seen, were contemporaries; Kavandha, pupil of Sumantu, was therefore contemporary with Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna; Vedasparśa was contemporary with Parikṣit, and Pippalāda, pupil

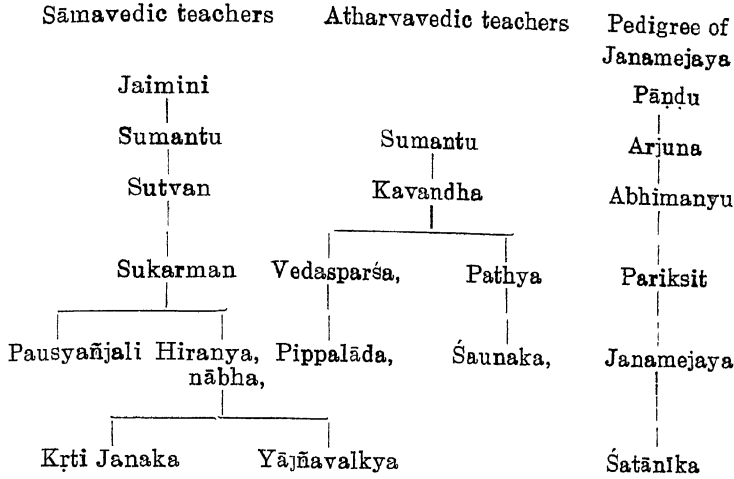
of Vedasparśa, was therefore contemporary with Janamejaya Parikṣita, as illustrated below :—



Kausalya Aśvalāyana, Sukeśan Bhāradvāja, Kavandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda, the Atharvavedic professor, must therefore have been contemporary with Janamejaya, as is clear from the table above. Now from the Praśna Upaniṣad we have already learnt that Hiranyanābha and Pippalāda were contemporaries. Hence Hiranyanābha must have been contemporary with Janamejaya.

It should be noticed in this connection that Pathya's pupil Jājali (lit. son of Jājala) seems to have been the same Jājali who learnt from the famous Tulādhāra (= shopkeeper) of Vārānaṣi, as related in the Mahābhārata, while Śaunaka, the other pupil of Pathya, seems to have been the author of the present recension of the Atharvaveda which we now possess, and to have taught Śatānka, son of Janamejaya the science archery and rituals. The Praśna Upaniṣad now appears to be the Upaniṣad or supplement to the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda, as it extols and praises the Professor Pippalāda. The Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda has also been obtained in Kāśmīra.

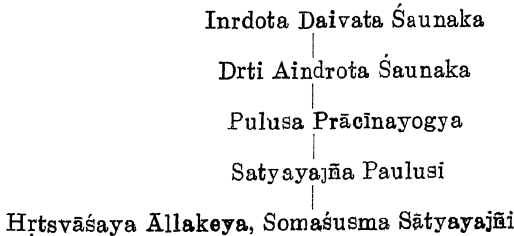
(9) The contemporaneity between Hiranyanābha and Janamejaya is also deducible from a comparison of the list of Sāmavedic teachers drawn up by Dr. Pradhan (*C. A. I.* p. 131) with the list of Atharvavedic teachers and the pedigree of Janamejaya as already shown on the table of genealogies facing page 176 of his *Chronology of Ancient India*.



Kṛti is explicitly stated to have been the pupil of Hiranya-nābha in the matter of spreading the knowledge of the Sāmaveda, and to have been a king (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-2; pp. 141-3.). Yājñavalkya also learnt Yoga from Hiranyanābha. Thus Kṛti Janaka was the Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts for whom Dr. Roy Choudhury is very anxious.

(10) That Janamejaya Pāriksita was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts, is further proved from the following Vedic evidences :—

In the Talavakāra Upanisad Brāhmana (III, 40, 2) Hṛtsvāsya Allakeya, king of the Mahāvssas, is mentioned as a pupil of Somaśusma Satyayajñi Prācīnayogya who, in his turn, was the fourth in the descending series of teachers from Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka as illustrated in the following table :



In the Śatapatha Brāhmana (XI, 6, 2, 1-3) it is stated that Somaśusma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya saw Janaka Vaideha. From the Gopatha Brāhmana (I, 2, 5) we learn that a Vedic teacher named ' Dantābala Dhaumra ' was courteously received by the King Janamejaya Pāriksita. The reading "Dantābala Dhaumra" in Dr. Rājendralal Mitra's edition of the Gopatha Brāhmana is clearly the corrupt form of the correct name "Dantāla Dhaumya" of the famous Vedic teacher. Now the Jaiminiya Brāhmana (II, 55-56) informs us that Hrtsvāśaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvrsas, was the pupil of Dantāla Dhaumya and Somaśusma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya. It follows then that Janamejaya Pāriksita who courteously received Dantāla Dhaumya, must have been contemporary with Somaśusma Sātyayajñi and therefore with Janaka Vaideha. This Janaka, Vaideha who was no other than Kṛti Janaka, appears to have held his Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice when he was quite advanced in years when Janamejaya was dead. The relation is illustrated in the following table :--

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka		
Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka		Āpoda Dhaumya
Pulusa Prācinayogya,	Janamejaya	Dantāla Dhaumya
Satyayajña Paulusi	Janaka Vaideha	
Somasusma Sātyayajñi		Hrtsvāśaya Āllakeya

Thus from evidences exclusively Vedic, we arrive at the conclusion that Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya.

(11) There is yet another ground for holding that Janaka and Yājñavalkya were younger contemporaries of Janamejaya Pāriksita. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly relates that the Vājasaneyins i. e. Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya and his followers and pupils were held in high esteem and established in honour by Janamejaya Pāriksita who circulated his royal proclamation for honouring the Vājasaneyins amongst his subjects. Vaiśampāyana, the leader of the opposite school, i. e. the Taittirīyas, became really sorry for this and once said angrily to Janame-

jaya : " You, ill-advised king, your proclamation will not be respected as long as I continue to live "

In spite of this, Janamejaya worshipped the Vedic deity Prajapati on a full moon day with the offering of oblation of ghee and performed two Āśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas or mantras of Vājasaneyya (= Yājñavalkya) and thus after establishing the Vājasaneyin Veda (= Brahman), i. e. the White Yajurveda in practice, Janamejaya became dwarfed in three limbs. (Perhaps Janamejaya became attacked with gout or paralysis which crippled him). This detailed information given by the Vāyu Purāna is extremely interesting and absolutely creditable. It removes all doubt about Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. It is certain that these two Āśvamedha sacrifices performed according to rules and mantras given by Yājñavalkya, were the very Āśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya, referred, during the debate held in Janaka's court. The story of Patañcala Kāpya's daughter having been possessed by a Gandharva, has been introduced by the later Vājasaneyins, i. e. the writers of the Brhadāranyaka, to give an appearance of difficulty to the question put to Yājñavalkya by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, at the court of Janaka.

Thus it will be found that Dr. Roy Choudhury's error about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka has plainly been due to his wrong assumption of the identity of Āssalāyana of Sāvatthi with Kausalya Āśvalāyana; of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana. Consequent on these wrong assumptions, Dr. Roy Choudhury has made the more grievous assertion that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Gautama Buddha.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA RE-EXAMINED
OR
THE CULTURE AND DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA
BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

“Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Malwa empire for a long time remained under the influence of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas”. In this strain a recent writer on the subject writes in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ and seems to propound three theories. First the *Arthaśāstra* was written somewhere between 480 and 510 A. D. Secondly it was a product of the Malwa Empire under the foreign domination of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas. Thirdly ideals and culture advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* are non-Indian.

This is then a re-examination of the whole *Arthaśāstra* problem. Though there has been a view that the date of the compilation of the Kautaliya *Arthaśāstra* may be brought down to the beginnings of the Christian era² still opinion was not divided as to the culture advocated by that treatise on ancient Indian Polity. The late V. A. Smith took the correct and sound view that the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual picture of the Mauryan Empire under its first emperor³. This finds corroboration from a more reliable quarter viz. : Aśokan inscriptions. Notwithstanding volumes of interpretation on these mute records on the rocks and pillars still the last word has not been said. A comparative study of the inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* texts has revealed to us the wonderful concordance between the two. The inference is irresistible that

1 See Pran Nath's article on the date of the compilation of Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* 484-510 A. D., June, 1931, pp. 109-113, July, 1931, pp. 121-3.

2 See A. B. Keith in the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna, pp. 8-22.

3 See *Early History of India*, p. 144.

Ásoka was an ardent student of the *Arthaśāstra*¹. Suffice it to say here that this coincidence is remarkable since it demonstrates beyond doubt the powerful hold which the *Arthaśāstra* had on the great Mauryan empire.

An interesting circumstance in this connection is that the ideals and culture advocated by the *Arthaśāstra* were known to the distinguished author of the sacred *Kural* whose compilation is assigned to the second century B. C. on various grounds.² If the *Arthaśāstra* be known in the Tamil land in the Second Century B. C. surely at least a century must have elapsed since the compilation to get authoritative recognition from the learned public. Further there is no trace of the ideas and ideals peculiar to the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas adumbrated. The institutions and the political theories inculcated are quite in consonance with the accepted standards of Ancient Hindu culture. Mere statement of a theory would not help us much unless substantiated by quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. No case has been made out to prove that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* has imported alien ideas and culture into his memorable treatise.

Equally weak, unconvincing and inconclusive is the attempt to show that it was a product of the Malwa Empire. The following are some of the points raised in this connection. They may be categorically stated with summary answers.

1. Kautilya has selected a small territory called *Janapada* and that situated near a sea-coast approaching in area nearly to a modern *tasil*. This is quite contradictory with the other remark made in the very next page that the Kautiliya King possessed landed property in Aparānta, Āsmaka, Avanti, Jāngala, and Anupa Deśas. Certainly each of these countries must have been bigger than a modern *tasil* and these countries put together must be big enough for an empire even granting that the Kautiliyen King possessed landed property only in the above mentioned Deśas. Thus at the outset it seems that the case made out rests on no substantial basis.

1 I have discussed this question in my *Maurya Polity*, (Madras University), 1932.

2 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature & History*, the chapter of Tiruvalluvar.

2. Much is made of the defence by the local wild tribes. Reference here is only to the outlying portions of the empire, specially those forest-belts which always separated the Capital from the country parts. In such places a statesman like Kautilya would have felt that it would be the right policy to get such forsaken places guarded by wild tribes who were real masters of the situation. The mention of Vāhurika and Pulinda may refer to Gujarat, Avanti and Central India. But Śābaras, Candālas and Ātavikas were not the monopoly of the Malwa Empire alone. These and similar tribes were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent. The same condition is depicted in the ancient Tamil works. The Maravar or the Eyinar who were foresters were pressed into service by the Tamil kings for defence purposes. In the opening chapters of *Janapadasamuddēśa* Kautilya simply lays down means and methods for a conquering monarch with regard to colonisation of new lands, their distribution and protection. In the beginning of the Mauryan epoch there was a tendency on the part of the first two kings to enlarge their kingdoms as far as possible. This being the ruling passion of the monarch Kautilya lays down a prescription how to encroach on a new territory with a view to eventually occupy the same.

3. The theory that the Kautiliya *Janapāda* was situated near a sea coast is inconclusive. For the empire under Candragupta Maurya, and his successors Bindusara and Aśoka, was bounded by the sea at least on two sides, and there is therefore every justification for Kautilya to refer to seaports and sailing vessels, either commercial or piratic. There need be no elaborate department of Nāvādhyaksa or Superintendent of boats and navy for a *Janapada* of a modern *tañil*. An interesting circumstance in this connection is that among articles of import find mention oyster shells, conch shells, pearls etc., which are found in sea-shore¹. If the kingdom is really situated on a sea-coast, then, would it not be legitimate to expect that kingdom to export such articles and import inland articles which can not be obtained near a sea-coast? But the fact that the sea-growing articles were imported is proof

1 *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XI.

positive that the Capital was situated away from the sea and this necessitated importing of such articles of merchandise. Again if the kingdom is situated on a sea-coast then there would be no room for Kautilya to enunciate in such an elaborate manner the interstate or international policy by means of a *maṇḍala* theory known as 'the circle of states'. In fact if one takes it as Pran Nath does, there would be no place for a circle of states'.

In this connection a passage from the section entitled *Śītū-dhyakṣa* is quoted and the passage is as follows :

Ṣoḍaśadronam Jāṅgalānām varṣapra
mānamadhyardhamanūpānām deśa
vāpānām ardhatrayodaśāsmakānām,
trayovimśatiravantīnām, amitamapa-
rāntānām haimaṇyānām ca kulyavāpānām ca kālataḥ ।

—Arthasāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

Shama Śāstri translates it thus : "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jāṅgala is 16 dronas half as much more in the moist countries (anūpānām) ; as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (deśavāpānām) 13½ dronas in the country of Āśmakas ; 23 dronas in Avanti and an immense quantity in western countries (aparāntānām) the borders of the Himalayas and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (Kulyavāpānām)¹. Pran Nath interprets thus : "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the King's due) is 16 dronas in the country of Jāṅgala ; 34 dronas in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture ; 13½ dronas in *Janapadas* of Āśmaka ; 23 dronas in Avanti ; the quantity in Aparānta is not measured ; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake etc.) should be ascertained according to the time"². Both these translations are faulty in the sense that while one term is interpreted as the name of a kingdom, another is interpreted in its literal sense. For example, Shama Śāstri translates *anūpa* moist country and Pran Nath *Haimanya* winter. In the interpretation of any passage the prescription is :

arthāt-prakaraṇāt-līṅgāt-aucityāt-arthamścayāḥ ।

1 Trans. P. 139, II Ed.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1931, P. 111.

This means that the interpretation suggested must follow the *prakaraṇa*. Either all the terms occurring in the passage are names of territories or connote different classification of soil. The latter cannot be. For Āsmaka and Avanti cannot come under any classification of soil. So the other possible alternative is that every term refers to a different kingdom. Further it is ingenious to interpret *Varṣapramāṇam* as annual measure of produce. Its ordinary meaning, 'the quantity of rainfall,' will quite fit in with the context.

If Kautilya had meant "actual measure of produce" he should have stated the quantity of the Aparānta and Haimaṇya. The expression *amitaṃ* proves that the author means only the quantity of rainfall.

The suggested translation is as follows :—

"Amongst the countries fit for agriculture the quantity of rainfall in the kingdom of Jāṅgala (possibly Kurujāṅgala) is 16 droṇas, in that of Anūpa¹ 24 droṇas, in that of Āsmaka (Āratta) 13½ droṇas and in that of Avanti (Malwa) 23 droṇas the quantity of rainfall in the Aparānta and the Himalayan regions cannot be measured; and these are cultivated by irrigation channels in certain seasons".

The idea of the last two sentences is that such regions being mountaineous tracts and rainfall dependent on monsoons, sometimes there will be very heavy showers and sometimes monsoon failing there will be no shower with the consequence that they had to resort to irrigation. A geographical study of the territories mentioned shows that the empire contemplated by the *Arthaśāstra* is not Malwa empire of the 5th Century A. D. but is much bigger than that. Western India, Himālayas, Kurujāṅgala, Bengal, Malwa and the Dekhan constitute the empire and hence practically the whole of Hindustan with a portion of the Dekhan. In other words these were the territorial limits covered by the Mauryan empire under its first ruler Candragupta. Can it still be maintained that the *Arthaśāstra* was not the work of the Minister of Candragupta Maurya? We hope not.

1 The country inhabited by the Anūpa tribe and may be looked for in the Vindhya Hills.

MISCELLANEA

SUBSTANCE OF THE LECTURE ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF AHIMŚĀ

delivered at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
(25th February 1932)

BY

PROFESSOR DR. BETTY HEIMANN
of the University of Halle

Etymologically *ahimsā* connotes an absence of a desire to injure another in thought, word, or deed. In form it is negative, and is often interpreted in a specific narrow sense; but really it is wider and a very ancient conception. It can in fact be traced back to the R̥gvedic conception of the "Rta" or the eternal cosmic Law or Order which governs all the facts and happenings in Nature. Rta compels every animate and inanimate being to follow the laws of its own existence so as not to thwart or obstruct all others from following the laws of their own individual existences. It may accordingly be said to be a sort of a "social contract" interpreted from the cosmic point of view. It is worth noting in this connection that Varuna, the champion of the R̥gvedic Rta, is associated with Mitra, the god of friendship or social contract, from whom the Buddhistic conception of "Mettā" is lineally descended. This conception is meant to inculcate the doctrine of "Samatā" or equality of all things in the sense of the well-known Brhadāraṇyaka passage I. iii. 22 which equates the Prāṇa Ātman simultaneously with the gnat, the fly, the elephant, or the universe, who are all — ignoring their differing evaluation from the *human* point of view — alike the equal partners of the cosmic social order that is based upon non-violence or Ahimsā. It follows that this doctrine, while in one of its workings-out it led the Jainas to object to even the cultivation of the soil lest it might involve the destruction of insect-life, in its

another and equally logical interpretation it enjoined upon the King of the country the duty to uproot all the "Kantakas" thorns or mischief-mongers, that may harm his subjects and so disturb the social balance. This means that the "social contract" presupposes the acknowledgment of all existing orders and existing groups of beings as essential functional values in an estimation of the universe as a whole, no single component of which is permitted to follow the "Atimārga" and transgress the bounds of its own existence and purpose. This in fact is the true "Dharma" the eternal rule that teaches different "Dharmas" to tolerate each other.

Ahimsā in Ancient India was conceived as a duty and a privilege that regulated the relations not between man and man alone, but between man and the whole Nature. Thus man is enjoined to remember in his daily religious offerings the shares of all his fellow-creatures. As objects of religious veneration he chooses caves, causeways or confluences which seem to have been sanctified by Nature itself. He may not impair the holiness of Nature by his own man-built forms of religion. And even in those glorious temples (e. g. Mamalapuram and Ellora) where the art of man appears to have triumphed over Nature, his innate humility has led him to create animal-sculptures and place them as if freely walking about in the complex of the temple.

It is this doctrine of Ahimsā taken in its widest philosophical sense that has made the Ancient Indian Ethics a *cosmic* ethics and not a *personal* ethics. Man and the animate and inanimate creation in the midst of which he is placed constituted but one whole, the component parts of which had their own fixed and inalienable places and boundaries. Hence the system of the castes and their traditional code of conduct, wherein each individual is merely a representative of his order and becomes liable for ancestral or communal delinquencies. The individual has accordingly to preserve the balance of his order and be ready, by self-immolation if need be, to restore the balance if disturbed, and render *objective* satisfaction : Compare the story of Odius in Greek Mythology. Hence the responsibility of the king for all the undetected sins amongst his subjects as illustrated in the glorious life-history of Rāma. The king no less than the commoner was

thus regarded not as a private individual but as the "function-holder" of the community. The conduct between men and men is in short governed by laws derived from cosmic facts. Ahimsā thus became tantamount to *unviolated* social contract.

In the domain of Dharmaśāstra or Civil and religious law the doctrine of Ahimsā has made itself felt in the recognition of the sanctity of possession, the appointed time for appropriation being purposely postponed as long as possible. Similarly the head of the family was not allowed to make a will cutting the property — especially landed and house-property — into pieces. The householder's duty to maintain the holy fire and the daily Karman or to continue the "prajā-tantu" may in this way be regarded as an injunction for Ahimsā in respect of things and persons that are to come. Man in fact is not an isolated individual: every creature is a fellow-creature. Hence the exemplary cultivation of hospitality in Ancient India. Hence too the three ethical duties enjoined by Prajāpati by the voice of thunder: *Damayata*, *Datta*, *Dāyata* (Brhad. v. ii. 1). Belief in the dogma of transmigration or re-incarnation, by projecting or continuing the relations between man and his fellow-creation beyond the limits of just one span of life, must no doubt have eased the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the ethical doctrine of Ahimsā as a social contract, and it must also have heartened many an Indian Yogin, Sādhu, or Tapasvin to cultivate self-denial and indifference to bodily suffering. Ahimsā in fact weaned men from self-concept, wantonness or passion (*īṣṛṣ*) which has played such an important role with the Greek Dramatists.

In religious and political expressions Ahimsā, sows the seed of tolerance, one effect of which is the facility with which symbols got multiplied and at times even contradictory symbols were brought together in India in the sphere of one and the same religion. Symbols are not the reality: they merely represent it. And as the Real according to the "Ahimsā" philosophy is an all-comprehending unity, a variety of symbols to represent the divine variety of nature became a foregone conclusion.

The famous theory of the Syādvāda, which teaches us to look to all possibilities in thinking, may be regarded as the logical

aspect of the doctrine of Ahimsā. And not only the Syādvāda, but all Indian Logic endeavours to see things not subordinated but co-ordinated : not cut off from each other by dichotomic definitions, but brought together in a kind of summarizing, synthetic definitions. In politics Ahimsā has given us the idea of "Satyāgraha", which etymologically connotes "seizing the truth as it exists" — always conceding the right of all forms of existence as such to exist, including of course your own existence. This should infuse not only courage of convictions and a fearlessness of consequences but also the ever necessary readiness to compare, to measure and to discuss one's own point of view and that of the opponent, in order to realize and establish the balance between the opposing forces and ideas.

We can thus never do full justice to the high dignity of the doctrine of Ahimsā if we narrow it down to one single practical act.

A NOTE ON SIDDHIVINIŚCAYA AND SRŚTIPARIKṢĀ

BY

H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

Out of the several important and unpublished works quoted by *Siddhasena Gaṇi* in his monumental commentary¹ to *Umāsvāti Vācaka's Tattvārthādhigamaśūtra* and its *bhāṣya*, I may mention *Siddhiviniścaya* and *Srṣṭiparikṣā*.

As is well-known Jainism does not consider anybody as a Creator of the Universe, much less does it attribute the act of creation to *Paramātman*, the soul in its perfectly liberated condition. Since the learned commentator does not intend to dilate upon this open secret, he naturally refers the readers to standard works where their curiosity in this connection is likely to be easily gratified. He has selected for this purpose *Siddhiviniścaya*² and *Srṣṭiparikṣā*³, the latter signifying the examination of creation. In my humble opinion, both these works are of *Jaina* authorship and most probably of the *Śvetāmbara* School. If one is tempted to identify this *Siddhiviniścaya* with one composed by *Akalaṅkadeva* and commented upon by *Anantavīrya*, pupil of *Rambhadra*, will it not be a very difficult problem for him to solve as to why this *Siddhasena* does not seem to have criticized or refuted any of the views of *Akalaṅka* expressed by him in his splendid work *Tattvārtharājavārtika*, even when this *Śvetāmbara* commentator has not spared his own brethren, and, if rightly judged, *Siddhasena Dwākara* too, the well-known logician, in his zeal to be quite faithful to the *Āgamas*?

It may be mentioned *en passant* that the exact date of *Siddhasena Gaṇi* is a desideratum. He has referred to *Dharmakīrti*⁴ and

1 This commentary together with the original text and the *bhāṣya* is published in two parts, in the "Sheth Devachand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series", along with my introductions in Sanskrit and English.

2-3 Ibid. pt. I, p. 37.

4 Ibid. p. 397.

Jinabhadra Gaṇi kṣamāśramaṇa, in his commentary. This practically settles his earlier limit. Pandit Sukhlal identifies him with *Gandahastin* mentioned by *Śīlāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Ācārāṅga*. This fact, if admitted, helps us in fixing the other limit.

Since not a single line is quoted in the commentary from *Siddhiviniścaya*, it remains to be verified, if there is any scholarly discussion as regards the theory of Creation in *Siddhiviniścaya* of *Akulaṅka*, whose date is still a subject open to discussion amongst various scholars.

Srṣṭiparīkṣā so far as I know, has not been mentioned in any of the catalogues of Mss. published. So will any scholar be inclined to furrow this virgin soil by attempting to find out, if there is any Ms. available, and if not, to see whether this is quoted in any work of not later than the 9th century ?

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XI

DATE OF *RĀGAMĀLĀ* OF *PUNḌARĪKA-VITṬHALA*

(ŚAKA 1498 = A. D. 1576) and identification of his patron

MĀDHAVASIMHARĀJA with MĀDHAVASIMHA,

patron of DALAPATIRĀYA

The *Rāgamālā* is a dissertation on the different rāgas, their forms, attributes and notes composed by Puṇḍarikavittṭhala, a Kārṇāṭaka (Kārṇāṭaka-jātiya). The only two Mss. of the work now extant and available are the following :—

(1) Bikaner No. 1100. ¹

(2) No. 1026 of 1884-87 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The description of the Bikaner Ms. as given in the Catalogue does not refer to the date of composition of the work which is given only in the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 1026 of 1884-87 and is contained in the following verse :—

“ शाके वस्वंकवेदाब्ज कपरिगणिते धातुसंवत्सरेस्मिन्
8 9 4 1

आषाढे कृष्णपक्षे शशधरसुदिने पंचमी रेवतीभे

नागांव (नागाम्बा²) धर्मसूनुर्द्विजवरतिलको विद्वलोस्तीह विद्वान्

तेनेयं रागमाला रसिकजनगलेभूषणार्थं कृता हि ”

The chronogram ‘वस्वंकवेदाब्ज’ comes to Śaka 1498 i. e. A. D. 1576. The age of the Ms. as recorded in the copy is Samvat 1671 i. e.

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880- p. 515.

2. This is the reading of Bikaner Ms.

A. D. 1615. This means that the present copy was prepared 39 years after the date of composition of the work.

Aufrecht has the following information regarding the works of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala in his Catalogue¹ :—

पुण्डरीकविट्ठल from Karnāṭaka, son of माधवसिंहराज lived under Akbar—नर्तननिर्णय Bik. 513, रागमञ्जरी Bik. 516, शीघ्रबोधिनी-नाममाला L. 1578, षड् रागचन्द्रोदय² Bik. 529.

The parentage of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala as given in the verse from the रागमाला quoted above appears to be different from that mentioned by Aufrecht. The रागमाला verse tells us that he was the son of 'Nāgāmbā and Dharma' (नागांबाधर्मसूनुः) while Aufrecht says presumably on the authority of the catalogue description of the Mss. of the works नर्तननिर्णय and others that he was the son of माधवसिंहराज and lived under Akbar (1556-1605).

Aufrecht's remarks about the parentage of *Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala* appear, however, to be incorrect. The Bikaner Durbar has furnished me with a copy of a Ms. of Rāgamañjarī mentioned by Aufrecht as "Bik. 516". The following verses in the beginning and end of the work show clearly the relation of *Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala* with *Mādhavasimharāja* :—

Folios 1 & 2 "श्रीमत्कृष्णवंशदीपकमहाराजाधिराजेश्वर- ।

स्तेजःपुंजमहाप्रतापनिकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते ॥

तस्यासीद्गगन्तदासतनयो वीराधिवीरेश्वरः ।

क्षोणीमण्डलमण्डनो विजयते भूमण्डलाखण्डलः ॥

तस्य द्वौ तनयौ ह्यभूत्तनयौ शूरौ महाधार्मिकौ ।

जातौ पंक्तिरथात्मजौत्वकचरक्षोणीपतेः स्वौ भुजौ ॥

सिंघो माधवमानपूर्वपदकौ संग्रामदक्षदुभौ ।

तेगत्यागसहस्रहस्तकलितौ श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरौ ॥

अकबरनृपधर्मी शक्रतश्चातिधर्मी ।

धराणिगगनमध्ये जंगमो मध्यमेरुः ॥

सकलनृपतिताराश्वंद्रसुराधिमौ द्वौ ।

जगति जयनशीलौ माधवा मानसिंघौ ॥

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 339a.

2. Mr. Fox-Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan*, p. 105, adds रागमाला and संगीतवृत्तरत्नाकर to this list of works ascribed to Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala and remarks that he belonged to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

तत्र माधवसिंघोयं राजा परमवैष्णवः

.

अगणितगणकचिकित्सकवेदान्त्यायशब्दशास्त्रज्ञाः ।

दृश्यन्ते बहवः संगीतिनात्रदृश्यतेत्येकः । इत्युक्ते

माधवसिंघे विठ्ठलेन द्विजन्मना । नत्वा गणेश्वरं देवं
रच्यते रागमञ्जरी ॥ ” etc.

Last Folio—

“देसकजननीनिजसुतविठ्ठलकृतरागमञ्जरीकेयं ।

सुंदररतिविचित्रावाग्देवीश्रवणमंडना भवतु ॥ २ ॥

संगीतार्णवमंदिरः प्रतिदिनं साहित्यपद्माकर-

प्रोद्भूतप्रबलप्रबोधजनको भासां निधिः सांप्रतं ॥

विद्यावाद्दिनोदिनामतिरामग्रेसरः केसरी ।

सोयं माधवसिंघराजतिलको जीयाच्चिरं भूतले ॥ ३ ॥ ”

It is clear from the foregoing extracts that Mādhavasimharāja was the patron of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala. The two brothers Mādhavasimharāja and Mānasimha were great favourites of Emperor Akbar. They were sons of ‘Bhagavantadāsa’ of the ‘Kachapa’ family. Mādhavasimharāja was a Vaiṣṇava and was apparently fond of Music. Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala was inspired to write all his works on Music by the direct encouragement of Prince Mādhavasimha.

The present Mādhavasimharāja appears to have been the patron of another writer called दलपतिराय who wrote पत्रप्रशस्ति or यावन परिपाटी-अनुक्रम. There are two Mss. of this work in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—(1) No. 409 of 1882-83 and No. 517 of 1891-95. Dalapatirāya makes the following remarks about himself in this work :—

“अथ प्रथमं यवनराज्याधिकारनियोगभृता, यथाशक्त्युपचरितनानाशास्त्र
विशारदविबुधवृन्देन पित्रा ग्राहितगीर्णयावनशास्त्राम्यासस्तदनु च हिंदुभ्लेच्छ-
महीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्येऽपि विद्याव्यसनव्यग्रचेता बहुषु जनपदेषु विविध
विद्वत्सपर्यापारिचयसंपादितसुरनागव्रजयवनभाषाकाव्यरसालंकारायभिनिवशः
कथमपि पूर्वपुण्यप्राग्भारसंदर्शितफलोदयो निखिलराजन्यराजिनीराजि-
तांध्रिराजीवश्रीमन्माधवेन्द्राणां परिचारकपदमासवान् अस्मि दलपतिरायः”

This passage is found in both the Mss. Ms. No. 517 is incomplete, while No. 409 has the following colophon :—

“इति यावनपरि(पा)ख्यातुक्रत्या राजरीतिनिरूपणोनाम सप्तमोधिकारः ॥ इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलाखंडल श्रीसवाईमाधवसिंह देवाज्ञा विलिखि”

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar' remarks on the basis of the last line of the above colophon that Mādhavasimha, the Sārvabhauma, appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of Peshawa dynasty of Poona.

I am inclined to take a different view of the above colophon. In the first instance the Ms. No. 409 has been acquired from Gujarat.² Secondly the “सवाई माधवसिंह” has a Gujarati tinge about it and presumably refers to a Prince in Rajputana. Thirdly the word ‘विलिखि’ is generally used by copyists in the sense that the “copy was made” or the “work was copied”. I am, therefore, inclined to take the last line as one added to by the scribe and the ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’ as some other Rajput Prince different from the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम, the patron of Dalapatirāya. It is possible that the present copy of the पत्रप्रशस्ति might have been made by a scribe under the instructions of a Rajput Prince called ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’. During the time of the Peshawa Madhavarao II, the Mogul rule was not so prominent as in the days of Akbar. Dalapatirāya in his remarks about himself and his father (vide extract quoted above) refers to circumstances such as ‘यवनराज्याधिकारनियोग’, ‘गीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राभ्यास’, ‘हिंदुल्लेखमहीपालपरिचर्यापारतंड्य’ all of which fit in more with the times of Emperor Akbar than those of Madhavarao II of the Peshawa dynasty. I am, therefore, of opinion that the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम or माधवेन्द्र, the patron of दलपतिराय is identical with the माधवसिंह the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The epithet ‘सार्वभौम’ need not mislead us because it is laudatory. It is similar to the epithet “श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरो” applied to the two brothers माधवसिंह and मानसिंह the tributary princes in the extract from Rāgamañjarī quoted above.

1. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. for 1882-83, p. 41.

2. Ibid, p. 2 — “The Gujarat Section comprises Nos. 1-486”

XII

DATE OF SUMATIVIJAYA'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA — LATTER HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa* makes the following remarks about the commentary of *Sumativijaya* on the *Raghuvamśa*¹ :—

“ We have now to notice the last Jain commentary that we have secured. The author's name is Pandita Sumativijaya of Vikramapura (Bikaner?) and that of his work *Sugamārthaprabodhikā* which he composed sometime between A. D. 1635 and 1643.”

The date given by Mr. Pandit in these remarks is based on the chronogram in the colophon of his Ms. viz. “निर्विघ्नहरसशशिसंवत्सरे”. About रस and शशि there is no difficulty of interpretation as their values viz. 6 and 1 are clear. There is difficulty as regards the value of the expression “निर्विघ्नं”. Mr. Pandit observes in this connection : “whatever the figure of unit may be that is meant to be indicated by the letters preceding ग्रहं it is certain that ग्रहरसशशि mean one thousand six hundred and ninety, obviously of the Samvat as that is the era used in Rajputana where the commentary was composed and whence it has been obtained.”

Another scholar to deal with this date is Mr. Nandargikar² who describes a Ms. of the work viz. No. 46 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute. His remarks about the date are as under :—

“ Date 1609 of the Samvat year corresponding with A. D. 1552. This Ms. of *Sugamānvayā* is bought for the Bombay Govt. by Dr. Bühler at Bikaner in Rajputana.” Mr. Nandargikar, like Mr. Pandit, also bases his date A. D. 1552 on the chronogram “निर्विघ्नहरसशशि”.

1. *Raghuvamśa*, edited by S. P. Pandit, 1872, Preface pp 11-12

2. *Raghuvamśa*, 1897, Critical Notice, pp. 24-25.

This divergence of interpretation of the chronogram by two different scholars results in the difference of more than 100 years (1643 and 1552) in fixing the date of composition as recorded in the work itself.

Instead of multiplying these interpretations it would prove a sort of corrective if we try to infer the probable date of the work on the basis of internal evidence. A cursory perusal of this commentary (Ms. No. 46 of 1873-74 referred to above) gives us the following list of authorities mentioned by Sumativijaya :— अमरः, हैमकोषः, काव्यप्रकाशः (fol. 240); विश्वः or विश्वप्रकाशः (4, 56 etc.); वैजयंती (fol. 5, 12 etc.); धराणिः (fol. 7); अनेकार्थः (fol. 9, 32 etc.); अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 14, 16, 19, 22, 31, 32 etc.); अभिधानचिंतामणिः (fol. 14, 16, 18 etc.); भारतशास्त्रं (fol. 23); शाश्वतः (fol. 33, 70); आगमः (fol. 36); किरातार्जुनीयकाव्यं (fol. 49); केशवः (fol. 82, 140, 152); सज्जनः (fol. 97); वायुपुराण (fol. 114); लिंगानुशासन (fol. 139); भोजव्याकरणं (fol. 142); हलायुधः (fol. 142, 175, 217); कृष्णभट्टाः (fol. 192); दक्षिणावर्तः (fol. 192); विष्णुपुराणं (fol. 219); यादवः (fol. 51, 78, 79, 198).

In the above list the reference to the अनेकार्थतिलक proves that the commentary was written after A. D. 1374¹ which is the date of this lexicon. More important than this reference is the reference to भोजव्याकरण on folio 142 which appears as under :—

“ दृढाचासौ भक्तिश्च दृढभक्तिः । पुंवत्कर्मधारयेत्यनेन पुंवद्भावः वा वादृढं भजन यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । अत्र केचिदाहुः कर्मसाधनेन भक्तिशब्दे पुंवत्त्वनिषेधोयं भक्तौ तु कर्मसाधनायां इति भोजव्याकरणदर्शनात्² ”

Now as regards Bhojavyākaraṇa Dr. Belvalkar³ observes that it was “ written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bharamalla.” Mr. Harishankar Shastri in his edition⁴ of this work

1. Zacharie, *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 36,
2. *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (N. S. Press—1919) Pothi edition—folios 25-26 — see verses 88, 89, 90, 2nd line of verse 90 — “ वा ग्रहणात्परेष्वेषु पुंवद्भावो भवेन्नहि”.
3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915), pp. 115-116.
4. Edition of *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (in Pothi form), 1919, (Published by Nirnayasāgar Press, Bombay), Introduction p. 2.

states — “महोपाध्यायपदधारकेण विनयसागरेण मुनिना श्रीभारमल्लभूपतिप्रतीये तत्कुमारनामस्मरणार्थमेतद्भोजव्याकरणं पद्यबंधरचनया व्यरचि । तेन भारमल्लभूपतिश्चाति-प्रसन्नतरोबभूव”.

I wonder on what evidence Mr. Harishankar Shastri has based the above remarks for they are different from the following statement of the work itself as recorded on folios 29, 67 and 76 of the printed edition under reference :—

“ श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो
राज्यं प्रशासित रिपुवर्जितमिन्द्रवधः
तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन
संगुंकिताव रुचिराह्य तृतीयवृत्तिः ”

It appears, therefore, that the work was written, as stated thrice in the work itself, under the orders of the King Bhoja, the son of Bhāramalla. Bhāramalla of the verse is none other than Bhāramalla I, Rao of Kacch who reigned from 1585-1631 A. D.¹ As the work was written under the orders of Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla and during his reign it must have been written some years after 1631 A. D. say about A. D. 1640 or so. As Sumativijaya belongs to Vikramapura i.e. Bikaner as stated in the colophon of his commentary and as he quotes भोजव्याकरण as authority he must have had a copy of the work before him. We shall, therefore, be not far wrong if we suppose that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary between 1640 and 1675 A. D. or *in the latter half of the 17th century*. This conclusion harmonizes with the dates of some of the Mss. of the commentaries of Sumativijaya in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute which are as under :—

Ms.	Number	Dated Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
रघुवंशटीका ...	No. 450 of 1887-91	1838	1782	
Do ..	No. 373 of 1892-95	1817	1761	
मेघदूतटीका ...	No. 315 of A 1882-83	1804	1748	

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, part ii, p. 41.

XIII

A MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA CALLED PRAKĀŚIKĀ AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — MIDDLE OF THE 15TH CENTURY

There is a Ms. of a commentary on the Raghuvamśa called Raghukāvyaṇṇaparakāśikā in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This is No. 471 of 1895-1902 and consists of 69 folios. The commentary is only for seven cantos of the text. The name of the author is not mentioned in any of the colophons of the seven cantos which appear on folios 19, 25, 35, 44, 54, 66 and 72. Among works and authors referred to in the commentary the following may be noted :— कामंदकः (fol. 5); वैजयंती (fol. 5, 48, 65); मनुः (fol. 6, 14, 18); यादवः (fol. 8); रुद्रः (fol. 8); विश्वः (fol. 9, 11, 15, 19, 52); हेमाचार्यः (fol. 11); अमरः (fol. 13, 19, 37, 64); हलायुधः (fol. 15); हेमकोषः (fol. 16, 29, 31, 39, 40); पराहारः (fol. 17); अभिधान-चिंतामणि (fol. 26, 27); आगमः (fol. 28, 37); अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 29); अनेकार्थः (fol. 30, 49); शाश्वतः (fol. 32, 64); किरातार्जुनीय (fol. 46).

As the list of the Mss. of the collection 1895-1902 was published by the B. O. R. Institute in 1925 this Ms. of the commentary Prakāśikā could not be recorded in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.

From the list of references given above it will be clear that the commentary is not very old. The quotation from अनेकार्थतिलक on folio 29 gives us one terminus to the probable date of the commentary. This quotation appears as under :—

“रथांगं चक्रवाकयोरित्यनेकार्थतिलके”

Presumably this is a quotation from the work of Mahipā called अनेकार्थतिलक, which is a chapter of the larger work शब्दरत्नाकर. It deals with homonyms and bears the date 1374 A. D.¹ As the present commentary refers to a lexicon of 1374 A. D. it must have been composed many years after this date. Secondly, in the list of references given above the commentary mentions works which are all of them of earlier date. This would justify our conclusion that the present commentary Prakāśikā was written in the middle of the 15th century, say between 1425 and 1475 A. D.

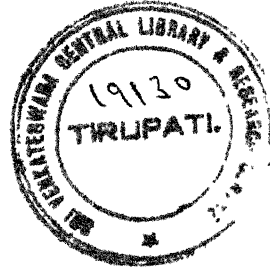
1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, 1897, p. 36.

XIV

A MANUSCRIPT OF MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY DATED SAMVAT 1837 (1781 A. D.) AND IDENTIFICATION OF GAJASIMHA IN WHOSE REIGN IT WAS WRITTEN

There is a Ms. (No. 332 of 1884-86) of Mallinātha's commentary on the Raghuvamśa dated Samvat 1837 (नग, अग्नि, वसु, शु, which corresponds to A. D. 1781. The scribe states that the Ms. was copied in the above year in the reign of *Gajasimha* of *Vikramapattana*. The name of scribe is व्यासनेंदलाल of नाहट or नाहट family.

It appears that the Gajasimha mentioned in the colophon of this Ms. is identical with Gajasimha of Bikaner Raj¹ who ruled from A. D. 1746 to 1787. The date of the Ms. viz. A. D. 1781 harmonizes with the above period of Gajasimha's reign and *Vikramapattana* of the Ms. is identical with *Bikaner*.



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